

TRANSACTIONS
OF THE
AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY

HELD AT PHILADELPHIA
FOR PROMOTING USEFUL KNOWLEDGE

NEW SERIES—VOLUME 64, PART 3
1974

THE SACRED OFFICIALS OF THE
ELEUSINIAN MYSTERIES

KEVIN CLINTON

Department of Classics, Cornell University

THE AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY
INDEPENDENCE SQUARE
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In memory of
CHRISTOPHER THOMAS

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PREFACE

The present study developed in the course of preparing a collection, which has long been needed, of all the epigraphical evidence relating to the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Eleusis. As I started editing texts and writing commentaries, however, it soon became clear that many problems connected with the priesthoods could be treated more conveniently in a separate study than in the commentaries on individual inscriptions. The proper scope of the separate study naturally appeared to be all Eleusinian priesthoods and sacred offices. Since some problems relating to the priesthoods, such as the chronology of individual incumbents, required a fairly close examination of the individuals, it seemed desirable to build the entire study around such an examination. This held out the further advantage of allowing documents concerning an individual incumbent to be treated as part of an examination of all information about him, and the opportunity of discussing all information about him with a view to making every possible inference concerning his priesthood and cult.

Thus the scheme I have adopted is a prosopographical account, in chronological order, of all the known incumbents of each priesthood, with an emphasis on certain aspects: qualifications for a priesthood (or sacred office), manner of selection, length of incumbency, official functions and duties, rank or importance relative to other priesthoods (or sacred offices) in the cult, social position, participation in civic life and in other festivals or cults, and religious dress. The evidence (literary, epigraphical, and archaeological) not connected with specific priests or priestesses has been interspersed chronologically among them (with dates as headings); but there are occasional departures from this procedure where it was more useful to discuss in one place all the evidence on a given topic (e.g., religious dress).

Although a continuous history of the sacred officials would naturally be more desirable than this piecemeal account of the evidence, there is unfortunately not enough evidence to compose one; often there are gaps of well over a century even between the facts, frequently meager, which are available. On the other hand, the reader who wishes to see what evidence is available for an individual priest or priestess or for a priesthood at a particular period should be able to do so fairly easily, and in those few cases where the evidence cannot be found chronologically, the table of contents and the indices can be consulted.

The previous most extensive treatments of these sacred officials were by P. Foucart, *Les Mystères d'Éleusis* (Paris, 1914) and J. Toepffer, *Attische Genealogie* (Berlin, 1889). Toepffer used all the then

known epigraphical and literary testimonia; Foucart did a general study of the priesthoods, but in regard to individual priests limited himself to certain periods. Since their studies, information has increased as new inscriptions have been discovered in the course of excavations at Eleusis and in the Athenian Agora (where the Eleusinion has been partially excavated), and much that is new has been gained through re-study of inscriptions known to Toepffer and Foucart, especially with the publication of the Attic inscriptions in the second edition of *Inscriptiones Graecae*. In addition, some results of my own study and inspection (in 1967–1970) of all the inscriptions now located at Eleusis as well as many now in Athens have been incorporated here. Advantage has also been taken of the discovery within the past seventy years of vase-paintings and sculptures depicting (or allegedly depicting) sacred officials of the Mysteries. Previously, inferences about the officials' appearance have usually been derived from non-Attic works of art, with the ever present danger that these might refer not to the Mysteries at Eleusis but to other Mystery cults of the Greco-Roman world;¹ and at least one new Attic monument reveals that this has indeed been the case. Because of this difficulty and because of the great number of these non-Attic works of art,² a study of them cannot be made here, but it is hoped that results of the present treatment of the Attic material will serve as a basis for more accurate interpretation of the non-Attic works.

In keeping with the primarily epigraphical origin of this study, I have attempted to mention all epigraphical references, including the insignificant, to the priesthoods and their incumbents, but I have not thought it worth while to include insignificant literary references. Further limitation of the literary sources is discussed in the Introduction. It should also be noted that I have not tried to treat as such the *γένη* which were involved in supplying sacred officials, but I hope that the evidence made available concerning the priesthoods and members of the *γένη* will be a help to anyone undertaking such a study.

The latinized form of Greek names, except for Kore and Kerykes and the names of demes, is used throughout. I have anglicized *δαδούχος* as daduch and *παῖς ἀφ' ἑστίας μνηθεῖς* as hearth-initiate.

I would like to express here my gratitude to James H. Oliver, who introduced me to the study of Eleu-

¹ For example, on hierophants in cults of Dionysus cf. F. Cumont, *A.J.A.* 37 (1933): pp. 243–244.

² For an extensive treatment of them see H. G. Pringsheim, 1905: pp. 8–19; also, for critical observations, G. E. Mylonas, 1961: pp. 187–213 (with comments also on Attic works).

sinian inscriptions. While I was at Athens and Eleusis examining inscriptions, he generously responded to my many requests for advice, and he provided much further help and advice during the writing of a preliminary version of this as a dissertation for the Johns Hopkins University. With Eugene Vanderpool I have had valuable discussions on many Eleusinian topics and inscriptions, and I cannot thank him enough for his assistance in countless matters both practical and scholarly. I have also profited much from discussions on various matters with Jacquelyn Collins Clinton, Sterling Dow, Günther Klaffenbach, Benjamin D. Meritt, Michael C. Stokes, Leslie L. Threatte, and John S. Traill. John H. Young's meticulous reading of the dissertation led to many improvements. I would also like to thank Colin N. Edmonson for allowing me to quote sections of an inscription he is about to publish; the German Archaeological Institute at Rome for photographs of statues

in the Palazzo dei Conservatori; and the British Museum, the Agora Excavations in Athens, and the Epigraphical Museum in Athens for their courteous help when I examined inscriptions in their collections.

My study of the inscriptions at Athens and Eleusis was made possible by fellowships of the American School of Classical Studies and the Johns Hopkins University; research at Eleusis in the summer of 1969 was financed in part by a grant from the American Philosophical Society. Cornell University granted funds for the typing of the manuscript; and I am very grateful for the patience and care of my typist, Beverly Myers.

I am especially indebted to the Greek Archaeological Society for permitting me to study the inscriptions at Eleusis.

The manuscript was completed in June, 1971; since then only minor alterations have been made.

K. C.

THE SACRED OFFICIALS OF THE ELEUSINIAN MYSTERIES

KEVIN CLINTON

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INTRODUCTION

Membership in either of the *gene* of the Eumolpidae or the Kerykes was a pre-requisite for eligibility to most of the important priesthoods of the Eleusinian Mysteries. The hierophant was taken from the Eumolpidae; the daduch, sacred herald, and altar-priest were from the Kerykes; and the exegetes were from the Eumolpidae.

These two *gene* also controlled the administration of the sanctuary.¹ The deme of Eleusis apparently had no jurisdiction over it, even though it was within the territory of the deme. None of the extant decrees passed by the deme were erected within the sanctuary, and there is no other evidence indicating that the deme had any authority over the sanctuary. But there is some evidence implying just the opposite. When in 403 the Thirty established at Eleusis a separate state, the status of the sanctuary in relation to the governments of Athens and the Thirty is described by Aristotle as follows²: τὸ δ' ἱερὸν εἶναι κοινὸν ἀμφοτέρων, ἐπιμελεῖσθαι δὲ Κήρυκας καὶ Εὐμολπίδας κατὰ τὰ πάτρια. Just as before, in accordance with ancestral custom, the Kerykes and Eumolpidae were to be in charge of the sanctuary. In inscriptions, when a question of sanctuary administration involves the Athenian state, the representatives of the interests of the sanctuary are always the Eumolpidae and Kerykes³; the deme of Eleusis is never consulted. Thus, whatever the relation of the town of Eleusis to the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore may originally have been, by the fifth century it seems to have become mainly the accidental one of location. It is noteworthy, too, that the Eleusinian demotic occurs only once among all the preserved names of priests and fathers of priestesses, which indicates that the priests and fathers of priestesses were most of them not direct descendants in the male line of those living at Eleusis at the end of the sixth century (when they received their demotics).⁴ Accordingly, the term "Eleusinian priests" as used in this study will mean priests who had functions in the

sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Eleusis; the adjective "Eleusinian" will not imply any connection with the deme of Eleusis.

The terms "priest" and "sacred official" also need some explanation. The latter term is meant to include persons who had religious functions in the cult but were probably never called *ἱερεῖς* or *ἱερεῖα*, such as the *παῖδες ἀφ' ἑστίας* and the *ὑμναγωγοί*. It is also convenient to use it to designate people who were regarded as *ἱερεῖς* in some periods but may not always have been, such as the exegetes. Excluded from this study, therefore, are state-appointed officials of the sanctuary and its festivals (with the exception of the hearth-initiate).

THE SECRET OF THE MYSTERIES AND CHRISTIAN WRITERS

Since the present study is intended to be introductory to a *corpus* of Eleusinian inscriptions, and the focus of this study is primarily on the sacred officials and not on the cult as a whole, it would be somewhat out of place and premature to attempt to discuss here the highly controversial evidence concerning the secret content of the Mysteries, the one part of the cult to which the inscriptions naturally very rarely pertain. The situation is both simplified and complicated by the fact that most of our evidence for the secret content comes from Christian writers; simplified, to some extent, because often enough these writers refer to the secrets without specifying which priesthood was involved; complicated, because often we cannot be sure whether the Mysteries they had in mind were those of the Athenian Eleusis. There was a suburb of Alexandria called Eleusis,⁵ and it has long been suspected that there was a Mystery cult there. Nilsson was the first to gather adequate evidence⁶; and much good sense would result by following Mylonas's suggestions that at least some of the statements of Christian writers on the Mysteries refer only to the Alexandrian Eleusis.⁷ Decisive proof that there was a Mystery cult there and that it was at least superficially modeled after the Athenian cult I believe can be found in a statement of Porphyry which to my knowledge has always been understood by modern scholars as referring to the Athenian cult⁸: ἐν δὲ τοῖς κατ' Ἐλευσίνα μυστηρίοις ὁ μὲν ἱεροφάντης εἰς εἰκόνα τοῦ δημιουργοῦ ἐνσκευάζεται, δαδοῦχος δὲ εἰς τὴν ἡλίου· καὶ ὁ ἐπὶ βωμῷ εἰς τὴν σελήνης, ὁ δὲ ἱεροκῆρυξ Ἑρμοῦ. This situation, rather strange for an agricultural cult such as the one in Attica, one might offhand ascribe to late

¹ The Athenian state, however, at least by the end of the fifth century, controlled the finances of the sanctuary; but although expenditure of funds for the sanctuary had to be authorized by the state, there is no indication that the state ever made any decision affecting the administration of the sanctuary without having at least consulted these *gene*. As an example of such consultation the law of ca. 450 establishing the *ἐπιστάται* may be cited, *S.E.G.*, X, 24, lines 28–30: ἀναλίσκειν δὲ ὅτι ἂν [μά]λιστα δέει μετὰ τῶν ἱερῶν καὶ τῆς β[ολ]ῆς βουλευόμενος τὸ λοιπόν. There was apparently no need to consult the deme.

² *Ath. Pol.*, 39, 2.

³ See especially *I.G.*, I², 76 and II², 204, and the discussion below, pp. 17–18; also *S.E.G.*, X, 24, lines 28–30, cited above, note 1.

⁴ Hierophant no. 10: Chaeretus son of Prophetes of Eleusis. P. MacKendrick, *The Athenian Aristocracy* (Cambridge, Mass., 1969), p. 38 states that "Eumolpids often came from the deme where the Mysteries were celebrated, Kerykes never." Yet in his list of Eumolpidae, *ibid.*, p. 99 only one person with the Eleusinian demotic appears, viz. the Chaeretus mentioned above.

⁵ See *R.E.*, V, coll. 2339–2342 (Schiff).

⁶ *Geschichte*, 2: pp. 94–95.

⁷ *Eleusis*, Appendix, pp. 287–316; 'Επιστημονική Ἐπετηρίς 9 (1959): pp. 7–58.

⁸ *Apud* Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangelica*, III, 12, 4 (ed. K. Mras, *Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller*, vol. XLIII) (= Porphyry, *Περὶ ἀγαλμάτων*, fr. 10, p. 22*, ed. Bidez).

syncretism. However, it is clear that the fragment of Porphyry's *Περὶ ἀγαλμάτων* cited by Eusebius, of which the above sentence on Eleusis forms a small part, is a discussion of *Egyptian* cults and is so introduced by Eusebius: τὰ δὲ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων πάλιν τοιαῦτά φησιν ἔχειν σύμβολα. Thus the reference must be to the Mystery cult at the Alexandrian Eleusis.

The beginning of this Alexandrian cult probably dates back to the time of Ptolemy I, who according to Tacitus consulted Timotheus, the exegete of the Eumolpidae, concerning a dream he had:

Ptolemaeus omine et miraculo excitus sacerdotibus Aegyptiorum, quibus mos talia intellegere, nocturnos visus aperit. atque illis Ponti et externorum parum gnaris, Timotheum Atheniensem e gente Eumolpidarum, quem ut antistitem caerimoniarum Eleusine exciverat, quatenam illa supersitio, quod numem, interrogat. Timotheus quaesitis qui in Pontum meassent, cognoscit urbem illic Sinopen, nec procul templum vetere inter accolae fama Iovis Ditis; namque et muliebrem effigiem adsistere quam plerique Proserpinam vocent.⁹

The natural interpretation of this passage is that Timotheus had been summoned by Ptolemy some time previous to this dream as an *antistes caerimoniarum* and was still in Alexandria when Ptolemy had the dream; it is also natural to assume that the *caerimoniae* for which he gave exegesis were those of the newly established or about-to-be-established Mystery cult in a suburb of Alexandria.¹⁰ At any rate, in view of the statement of Porphyry and the evidence cited by Nilsson, there was a Mystery cult there and at least in some externals it was very similar to the Athenian cult. However, the present study is not the place to continue the discussion, which has been well advanced by Mylonas's studies, about which of the statements of the Christian writers are applicable to Alexandria and which to Attica.

HIERONYMY

For the convenience of the reader this unusual custom will be described here.

Hieronymy applied to five priests: the hierophant, daduch, sacred herald, altar-priest, and *pyrphoros*; and to one group of priestesses, the hierophantids. It involved the replacement of their name with the title of their priesthood. For example, according to the rule of hieronymy the hierophant's name took the form: Ἱεροφάντης, Patronymic, Demotic. If he was a Roman citizen, this form could be preceded by his praenomen and gentilicium; for example: Τιβερίος

⁹ Tacitus, *Historiae*, IV, 83, 2; cf. Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride*, 362 A, where Timotheus is called an exegete.

¹⁰ So Nilsson, *loc. cit.*, but he describes Timotheus as *Leiter der Zeremonien*. Though *antistes* can mean one who officiates or directs, it can also mean exegete, which was Timotheus' position in the Athenian cult, and so the word is probably better understood in this sense. Mylonas, *Eleusis*, p. 302, incorrectly indicates that Timotheus was a hierophant.

Κλαύδιος Ἱεροφάντης Καλλικρατίδου Τρικυρῆσιος. In a particular case all these elements of a hieronymous name need not be present, but his original Greek name is never present, having been replaced by the title of his priesthood (in the instance given, Ἱεροφάντης). The custom was in force from the time the priest was installed until he died. After his death his original name could again be used.

This custom was not in use throughout the entire history of the cult, and did not begin at the same time for all the priesthoods which eventually adopted it. In the case of the hierophant it evidently began to be rigorously observed sometime between 148 B.C. and the last quarter of the second century B.C., after which time all the evidence shows that it was being observed, there being no evidence to the contrary.

In the case of the daduch, hieronymy was evidently not observed before the beginning of the first century after Christ, and there is no positive evidence for its observance until the *aeisitoi* lists of the middle of the second century.

The sacred herald did not become hieronymous until sometime between 119/20 and 166 A.D.

Hieronymy for the altar-priest is first attested for L. Memmius, Altar-Priest, of Thorikos, who served from 121–124 to 191 or 192 A.D., but no evidence concerning his title is available before 168/9. The altar-priest was not hieronymous at the end of the first century B.C.

The first evidence for hieronymy for the *pyrphoros* comes from the end of the second century A.D.; he was not hieronymous at the end of the first century B.C.

The first securely datable inscription for a hieronymous hierophantid is from the end of the first century A.D.

In the case of the hierophant hieronymy did occur, in at least one instance, considerably before the time when it began to be observed strictly. At least one inscription shows that the practice was in use around the end of the fourth century B.C. This leads me to believe, with Foucart,¹¹ that originally it may have been a mark of respect given to the hierophant, at first not required and not officially observed, but eventually it became established as a custom and as an official rule. In the case of the hierophant, as has been stated above, strict official observance of hieronymy began in the third or fourth quarter of the second century B.C. Eventually, it became a crime to reveal the real name of a hieronymous priest, so that by Lucian's time a scene such as the following could be described¹²:

Εἴτ' εὐθὺς ἐντυγχάνω δαδούχῳ τε καὶ ἱεροφάντῃ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀρρητοποιοῖς Δεινίαν σύρουσιν ἄγδην ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχήν,

¹¹ 1914: p. 176.

¹² Lucian, *Lexiphanes*, 10. The complaint was evidently brought before the hoplite general. Cf. J. Delz, *Lukians Kenntnis der athenischen Antiquitäten* (Diss. Basel, Freiburg, 1950), pp. 73–74, and Geagan, *Constitution*, p. 29.

ἐγκλημα ἐπάγοντας ὅτι ὠνόμαζεν αὐτοὺς, καὶ ταῦτα εὖ εἰδὼς ὅτι ἐξ οὐπὲρ ὠσιώθησαν, ἀνώνυμοί τέ εἰσι καὶ οὐκέτι ὀνομαστοὶ ὡς ἂν ἱεράννημοι ἦδη γεγενημένοι.

I. HIEROPHANT (Ἱεροφάντης)

Until shortly before the end of the fourth century A.D. there is no attested transgression of the ancestral custom which dictated that the hierophant was to be taken only from the *genos* of the Eumolpidae.¹

1. Ζάκορος. Pseudo-Lysias, *Against Andocides*, 54. Toepffer, 1889: p. 55. Foucart, 1914: p. 187. P.A., 6182. Around the beginning of the fifth century before Christ.

Zacorus, the earliest known hierophant, was the great-grandfather of an unknown Eumolpid who delivered a speech against Andocides in 400²; thus he would have been living around the beginning of the fifth century. He was married, but neither his great-grandson nor son, Diocles, who is mentioned in the great-grandson's speech as having once given advice to a court hearing a case of *asebeia*, were hierophants.³

Although it is not known whether Zacorus was still married or a widower when he became hierophant, it is at least evident that a man who had married was not thereby disqualified.

BEGINNING OF FIFTH CENTURY

Around the time of Zacorus, perhaps even during his term of office, two sets of regulations were set up within or near the Eleusinion in Athens, one concerning perquisites of priesthoods of the Mysteries and the other concerning sacrifices at festivals whose names are lost.⁴ The former is conjectured to date from ca. 510–500 and the latter 500–480 (both datings are based on letter-forms and on the fact of *boustrophedon* writing). Only the earlier of the two definitely mentions Eleusinian priesthoods, but in a context which is obscure because of the fragmentary state of the inscription: [— — τὸν ἡ]ιέρ[ε]α [καὶ τὸν] φαίδ[υ]ν[τ]έν[—]. We can assume that the other Eleusinian priests, including the hierophant, were mentioned in the missing

part. The special significance of these two inscriptions lies in the fact that they are the first in a series of known measures regulating the perquisites of these priests. The fees of the hierophant and the other Eleusinian priests, all members of aristocratic *gene*, were at this time not left to the whim of the individual priests but were regulated by law.⁵

Ca. 460 B.C.

The perquisites were again regulated around 460, as part of a major piece of legislation published on four sides of a stele which was set up in the City Eleusinion.⁶ According to this law the perquisites were to be paid at the Mysteries to each priest by each initiate. Although only the amount paid by each initiate to the priestess of Demeter is actually preserved in the main body of the law, the priestess is clearly the last in a list of priests and the amounts they are to receive. I present here a new text of the relevant part of this inscription, Face C, which I inspected in the summers of 1969 and 1970, and some epigraphical commentary.⁷

I.G., I², 6, Face C

ca. 460 a.

Stoikhedon 23: lines 1–46

Non-Stoikhedon: lines 47–50

5 [.....¹².....] ὁβολ[ὸν ..⁵..
[.....¹².....] οὐ χι[ε]ρ[.....⁵..
[.....¹⁰.....] ἡ[ε] μιοβέ[λιον κα]
8 [θ' ἐμ]έ[ρα]ν [παρὰ τ]ὸ μύστο [ἡε]κ[σ]
[το]· τὸν ἡ[ε]ρ[ε]αν τὸν Δέμ[ε]τ[ρο]ς
[λ]αμβά[ν]ειν μὴ [στε]ρίους τ[ο]ῖς ὁ
[λ]έ[ξ]ουσιν παρὰ [τὸ μ]ύστο ἡ[ε]κ[σ]

⁵ The question of when the Athenian state first began to exert control over the hierophant and the other priests of the Mysteries is intimately bound up with the date of the first Athenian attempts to connect the Eleusinian Mysteries to Athens. For a discussion of this see F. Walton, *H.Th.R.* 45 (1952): pp. 105–114. If it really was, as Andocides (116) says, a law of Solon which ordained that the Boule meet in the Eleusinion in Athens on the day after the Mysteries to review infractions which took place during them, it would be the earliest known law regulating the affairs of the Mysteries. But as to what extent the priesthoods were regulated in Solon's time there is no evidence. For the law codes from Solon to Nicomachus cf. L. Jeffery, *op. cit.*, pp. 106–111, and S. Dow, *Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc.* 71 (1953–1957): pp. 1–35.

⁶ I.G., I², 6 (= *S.E.G.*, XXI, 5; Sokolowski, *Supplément*, 3). Dated by letter-forms.

⁷ I have not seen the Agora fragments. The line numbers are given here according to the system of Meritt, *Hesperia* 14 (1945): pp. 61–81, revised in *Hesperia* 15 (1946): pp. 249–253. This edition of Meritt represents the greatest advance in the editorial history of this difficult inscription. My text shows more dotted letters than previous editions; for I have tried to adhere as strictly as possible to the Leiden system: if the physical traces of a letter can be interpreted as more than one possible letter, the letter is dotted. In the commentary I generally do not call attention to cases where I introduce subscript dots, but I do call attention to cases where I think that they can be removed.

¹ The clearest statment of this fact is made by Aelius Aristides, *Eleusinian Oration*, 4 (ed. Keil). Hellanicus wrote about the *γένος* of the hierophants in the second book of his *Atthis* (Harpocration, s.v. *ἱεροφάντης*).

² Pseudo-Lysias, *Against Andocides*, 54: Βούλομαι τοίνυν εἰπεῖν ἃ Διοκλῆς ὁ Ζακόρου τοῦ ἱεροφάντου, πάππος δὲ ἡμέτερος, συνεβούλευσε βουλευόμενος ὑμῖν ὅ τι δεῖ χρῆσθαι Μεγαρεῖ ἀνδρὶ ἡσεβηκότι. For the date of this trial, 400 B.C., see D. MacDowell, *Andocides, On the Mysteries* (Oxford, 1962), append. J.

³ If they had been, the great-grandson would surely have mentioned it, since he was obviously proud of the fact that he could mention it in the case of his great-grandfather. This particular point and his whole case would have carried greater weight if he and his grandfather had been hierophants.

⁴ *S.E.G.*, XXI, 3–4; XII, 2–3 (= Sokolowski, *Supplément*, 1–2); L. Jeffery (*Hesperia* 17 [1948]: pp. 86–111) did the *editio princeps*, which is still the best text.

Meritt (*Hesperia* 14 (1945): p. 71) objects to Crönert's restoration on the ground that it is barbarous Greek. If he has τοῖς ὄσι Κερύκων in mind, Andocides probably would not agree; he quotes a man saying: ὦ Καλλία, . . . πρῶτον μὲν ἐξηγῇ Κηρύκων ὦν (*On the Mysteries*, 116). Whatever the restoration, the sense must be that any member of either *genos* was entitled to conduct *myesis*; it was completely up to him whether he did so or not, the *genos* having no voice in the matter; otherwise Andocides, a member of the Kerykes but not warmly beloved of his *genos* at the time, probably would not have conducted the *myesis* which he mentioned in *On the Mysteries*, 132. This consideration does not favor [λάχ]οσι. According to Meisterhans-Schwyzler (*Grammatik der attischen Inschriften*, p. 178) θέλω (in place of ἐθέλω) does not occur in Attic inscriptions until the middle of the third century.

Lines 32-4: [τῆς ἀπαρ|χ]ῆς Meritt (*Hesperia* 14 (1945): p. 77), [τῆς φυλα|κ]ῆς Meritt (*ibid.* 15 (1946): p. 253), [τῆς ἀπα|ν]ῆς Sokolowski; [μέλ|ε]σθαι Meritt, [ἀρχ|ε]σθαι Sokolowski.

Meritt does not say what made him change his mind. The upper tip of an oblique stroke which I could see at the beginning of line 33 offers only Κ or Χ, no solution. But I favor [τῆς ἀπαρ|χ]ῆς in connection with the new reading in line 34 (see below). *L.S.J.* does not report any examples in Attic prose of μέλεσθαι or ἀρχεσθαι meaning "to be in charge of" or "in control of" as Meritt and Sokolowski seem to have in mind for their use of the middle infinitives here.

Line 34: h[έ]ος Meritt. When the light was striking the stone at a certain angle, the second letter of this word appeared clearly as Ο. I could not make out any certain traces of the next two letters. This reading eliminates the somewhat superfluous phrase hέος ἂν βόλονται in favor of h[έ]ο[τι] (or h[έ]ο[το]) ἂν βόλο[νται]. I find worthy of some consideration the restoration ἄθεν[αίοισι χρ|ε]σθαι h[έ]ο[τι] ἂν βόλο[νται]; that is, authorization was made here for borrowing money from the fund of Demeter and Kore just as it had been done from the fund of Athena. It is interesting that here, as in *S.E.G.*, X, 24, lines 12-13, a change in the administration of the treasury of Demeter and Kore is described in terms of an already existing arrangement in the administration of the treasury of Athena on the Acropolis.

Line 37: τ[ό] το[ῖν θεοῖν] Hiller and Meritt, [έν] τ[όι] hierōi Sokolowski.

Meritt was right to retain Hiller's reading: there is no vertical stroke at the left of the *stoichos* of the dotted tau but there is an upper horizontal stroke barely visible.

Lines 38-40: ταμείεσθ[αι]· Εὐμολπ[ί]δ[ας δ' ἔ]χεν έν τοῖ μ[έ]σοι τέν β[ύ]β[λον] τ[έν] τῶν [ό]ρφ[ανόν] Meritt. Sokolowski suggests βε[β]αιοτ[έν].

The stone shows that the mu of μ[έ]σοι can also be interpreted as eta or epsilon; perhaps, then, έν τοῖ

h[ιε]ροῖ. The second letter in line 40 could also be a sigma; so perhaps έν τοῖ h[ιε]ροῖ Ἐλε[ν]σ[ί]νι. Though the restoration eludes us, the passage probably refers to the special care taken by the state or the *gene* to assure the initiation of orphans.

Line 40: [θύεν δ|έ] Meritt (1945), [γράφε|ν] Meritt (1946), [θύεν δ|έ] Sokolowski.

I am inclined to favor [θύεν δ|έ], but certainty is impossible.

Line 41: παῖ[δας] Meritt. The vertical stroke of the third letter of this word lies at the left of the *stoichos*, and so is probably not iota. Perhaps the restoration is παῖ[τας]; that is, the orphans sacrifice all together, the costs of which were borne by the *gene* or the state; the regular initiates, the *mystai*, sacrifice individually and bear the costs themselves.

Line 42: hέκαστο μ[νέ]σθαι δέ Meritt (1945), hέκαστο με[νός] χωρίς Meritt (1946), hέκαστο π[ροτέ]λεια Sokolowski.

Sokolowski's conjecture is the most appealing, but π[ροθύ]ματα should be substituted for π[ροτέ]λεια, on the basis of *I.G.*, II², 1673, line 62: προθύματα δο[θέντα] εἰς μύ[ησιν]. Meritt's restoration (1946), however, cannot be excluded, for it is known that the Eumolpidae had the task of inscribing the initiates (see below, p. 26).

Line 43: [μνο|μ]ένος Kirchhoff, [θνο|μ]ένος Sokolowski.

Sokolowski (*op. cit.*, p. 18) points out that θύεσθαι is just as frequent as θύειν. But he does not note any difficulty in having θύειν and θυομένος in the same sentence for the same agent. Anyway his interpretation of the whole sentence does not really require θυομένος in place of μνομένος.

Line 44: [τῇ πρό τῷ] i[ε]ρῷ Leonardos (*apud* Hiller), [έκτός] or [έντός] Roberts-Gardner, [έντός τῷ h|ι]ερῷ Crönert. The iota of τῇ is at the present time completely illegible.

It seems to me that the αὐλή *outside* the sanctuary is meant, in light of the practice of prohibiting the ἀμύητοι from entering the sanctuary (*cf.* Mylonas, *Eleusis*, pp. 224-226). Two αὐλαί were connected with the cult of Demeter and Kore at Eleusis, one within the sanctuary in front of the Telesterion and the other in front of the main gate (now the Greater Propylaea). The latter is probably the one mentioned by Pseudo-Demosthenes in *Against Neaera* (116): ἐπὶ τῆς ἐσχάρας τῆς έν τῇ αὐλῇ Ἐλευσίνι. The courtyard in front of the sanctuary does in fact have an ἐσχάρα.⁹

Line 45: [μνομένο|ς] Kirchhoff, [θυομένο|ς] Sokolowski.

⁹ See Mylonas, *Eleusis*, pp. 169-170. Other references to a courtyard at Eleusis are: έν τῇ αὐλῇ τοῦ iεροῦ in *I.G.*, II², 847, line 54, 949, line 21, 1235, line 22, 1299, lines 28 and 78, 1304, line 45; έν τῇ έν Ἐλευσίνι αὐλῇ in *I.G.*, IV², 83, lines 14-15; έν Ἐλευσίνι έν τῇ iεραῖ αὐλῇ ταῖν θεαῖν in *I.G.*, IV², 84, lines 35-36. In all of these passages the courtyard could be the one outside of the sanctuary.

¹⁵ By the end of the fourth century *μύησις* and *μύησις* were also being applied to the whole process; cf. Theophilus, ed. Edmonds, II, p. 568, l. line 4), where *ἐμύθηθη* seems to describe the whole process; in addition, Plato and Aristotle sometimes do not keep to the distinction (cf. references to the Mysteries in Plato and Aristotle discussed by Boyancé, *R.E.G.* 75 (1962): pp. 460-482); an example of this from the fifth century is Aristophanes, *Peace*, 375.

420's, lists the people who were given *σίτῃσι* in the Prytaneum. The first group mentioned has been traditionally restored as follows: [ἐ]ναι τὸν σίτῃσιν τὸν ἐ]μ πρυτανεῖοι πρῶτον [μ]ὲν τοῖ[σ]ιν ἱερεῦσι τοῖν θεῶν κ]ατὰ τὰ π[ά]τρια. M. Ostwald has more recently restored¹⁶: πρῶτον [μ]ὲν τοῖ [h]ιεροφάντει γενομένοι κ]ατὰ τὰ π[ά]τρια. He rejects the traditional restoration on the grounds that in the preserved part of the inscription movable-nu never occurs except in *ἔδοχεν*, a formulaic term, thus *τοῖσιν* is quite improbable¹⁷; and that in the *aeisitoi* lists of the Roman period, which is the only other time we are informed about the priestly members of this group, not all the Eleusinian priests are listed and those that are listed do not remain the same, except the hierophant, the only one who always appears. However, Ostwald's restoration does not receive "further support from the fact that the *ιεροφάντης* was, in Classical times, the only member of the Eleusinian priesthood who was a priest and a magistrate at the same time."¹⁸ His reference for this, Foucart (1914: p. 178), reads: "La charge du hierophante était à la fois un sacerdoce et une magistrature, ἀρχὴ τῆς ἱερωσύνης, comme le dit une inscription." But Foucart does not identify the inscription. It is *I.G.*, II², 1235, a decree of the Eumolpidae and the Kerykes, dated around 248/7 (see below), honoring a hierophant for, among other things, καὶ ἐν τεῖ ἀρχεῖ τῆς ἱερωσύνης εὐσχημόνως ἀνέγκλητον ἑαυτὸν παρασκενάζων. Thus the hierophant certainly was not considered a magistrate of the state in this inscription, but at most an officer of the *gene*, like the *ἄρχοντες τῶν γενῶν* in the same inscription (line 24), and it is indeed perfectly conceivable that the Eumolpidae and Kerykes used this phrase to mean even less than that, namely, "in his priestly office" or "in the term of his priesthood."¹⁹ Furthermore, we know so little about

the relationship between the *aeisitoi* of this period and those of the Roman period that it is difficult to have confidence in either Ostwald's restoration or the traditional one, especially since there is good reason to believe that the latter *aeisitoi* were not fed in the Prytaneum (where the former were fed) but in the Tholos.²⁰

421 B.C.

In this year²¹ a decree, *I.G.*, I², 81, was passed concerning the reconstruction of a bridge over the Rheitos, which probably had been destroyed during the war and without which the Sacred Way was virtually impassable.²² It is to be built *hos ἂν τὰ ἱερά φέροσιν* *ἡι ἱέρειαι ἀ[σ]φαλέστατα*, and of such a width *ἵνα μὲ ἡμάχῃσι διελαύνονται*, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἰδοῖν *ἔι βα[δ]ίξεν ἐπὶ τὰ ἱερά*. It is striking that "the priestesses" seem to have a principal role in the Sacred Procession, i.e., carrying the *hiera*; there is no mention of the hierophant here in connection with the most sacred objects of the cult. The inscription divides the procession into two groups: *ἡι ἱέρειαι* and *τοῖς ἰδοῖ* ("the marchers"). The priestesses carry the *hiera* whereas the marchers follow after the *hiera* (*βαδίζεν ἐπὶ τὰ ἱερά*). However, one cannot be sure whether the hierophant was considered as belonging to the latter group, or whether he marched at a point in the procession ahead of "the priestesses."²³

416/5 OR 415/4

If the legislation of ca. 460 discussed above could be called democratic, in protecting the *mystes*, the private citizen, from being financially exploited by aristocratic priests, the next testimony concerning the hierophant, from the year 416/5 or 415/4,²⁴ reflects to

¹⁶ *A.J.P.* 72 (1951): pp. 24–32.

¹⁷ This is not a strong argument against *τοῖσιν*; use of movable-nu can be very erratic; cf. L. Threaght, *H.S.C.P.* 74 (1970): p. 348.

¹⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 32.

¹⁹ J. Martha (1881: pp. 8–10) believed without a doubt that priesthoods in general were city magistracies, on the basis of Plato, *Laws*, 758e–759c and Aristotle, *Politics*, 1299a, 14–19 and speculation of his own. At Eleusis the hierophant and daduch were certainly in charge of the sanctuary administration, but by the end of the fifth century the financial power of the sanctuary was in the hands of the *epistatai* and the Athenian state. The state, though it probably would normally take advice from the hierophant and daduch, legislated in matters of the sanctuary which affected its own interest, such as the availability of the sanctuary, its fees and finances, and its political value as a cultural highlight of Athens, but there is no evidence that it ever touched in any significant way the basic religious matters of the sanctuary. In a sense, these priesthoods were *ἀρχαί* in that they did have some power within the sanctuary and they were responsible to the state in some matters (e.g., they underwent an audit, see below, p. 46) but the fact that they were not appointed by the state and their power did not emanate from the state hardly allows us to regard them as city magistracies. Nor do Plato and Aristotle regard them as such. In Plato, *loc. cit.*, it is suggested that

neokoroi, priests, and priestesses be in charge of sanctuaries just as there are officials to take care of other subdivisions of the city and country, and that they should be appointed by the state—except the *πάτρια ἱερῶσιναι*, which should be left alone. Aristotle, *loc. cit.*, states: *ἔστι δὲ οὐδὲ τοῦτο διορίσαι ῥάδιον, ποίας δὲ καλεῖν ἀρχάς· πολλῶν γὰρ ἐπιστατῶν ἢ πολιτικῇ κοινῶνι δέεται, διόπερ (οὐ) πάντας οὔτε τοὺς αἰρετοὺς οὔτε τοὺς κληρωτοὺς ἀρχοντας θετέον, οἷον τοὺς ἱερεῖς πρῶτον*. A few lines later he defines a magistracy: *μάλιστα δ'ὡς ἀπλῶς εἰπεῖν ἀρχὰς λεκτέον ταύτας ὅσαις ἀποδέδοται βουλευσασθαί τε περὶ τινῶν καὶ κρίναι καὶ ἐπιτάξει, καὶ μάλιστα τοῦτο· τὸ γὰρ ἐπιτάττειν ἀρχικώτερόν ἐστιν*. (Cf. the discussion of these lines in W. L. Newman, *The Politics of Aristotle* (Oxford, 1902), 4: pp. 255–256.) One can hardly say that commanding is the main function of an Eleusinian priest. At any rate the problem of whether or not an office can be called an *ἀρχή*, to continue quoting Aristotle, *ταῦτα διαφέρει πρὸς μὲν τὰς χρήσεις οὐδέν*.

²⁰ See S. Dow, *Prytaneis*, *Hesperia*, suppl. 1 (1937): pp. 22–24.

²¹ The conciliar year of the first secretary is dated to 422/1 by McGregor, *A.J.P.* 59 (1938): pp. 147–162. The period after the cessation of hostilities in 421 would be the most reasonable time for this decree calling for construction within a war zone.

²² Cf. J. Travlos and K. Kourouniotes, *Πρακτικά* 1937: pp. 25–41.

²³ For the procession see below, pp. 35–36; for the "priestesses," p. 69 and pp. 88–89.

²⁴ For a recent discussion of the date see R. Meiggs and D. Lewis, *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions* (Oxford, 1969), pp. 222–223, with bibliography. The date is not of critical

some extent the Athenian imperialism of this period. It is a *syngraphe* dealing principally with the collection of the *ἀπαρχή τοῦ καρποῦ τοῖν θεοῖν*. It orders that the announcement of the request to send the *ἀπαρχή* to the Eleusinian Goddesses be promulgated first to the Athenians, then to their allies, and finally—with perhaps a slight touch of humor—to all Greek cities, not “commanding” but “encouraging” them. The proceeds from the *ἀπαρχή* were to be used for a great sacrifice and “dedications to the Two Goddesses”: i.e., for adorning the sanctuary. It is striking how minor a role the hierophant had in all this: *κελεύετο δὲ καὶ ἡ ἱεροφάντης καὶ [ὁ] δαϊδοῦχος Μυστερίοις ἀπάρχεσθαι τὸς ἑλλήνας τὸ καρπὸν κατὰ τὰ πάτρια καὶ τὴν μαντείαν τὴν ἐγ Δελφῶν. ἀναγράφαντες δὲ ἐ[μ] πινακίῳ τὸ μέτρον τὸ καρπὸ τὸ τε παρὰ τὸν δεμάρχον κατὰ τὸ [ν] δέ[μ]ον ἡκάστον καὶ τὸ παρὰ τὸν πόλεον κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἡκάστ[εν κ]αταθέντων ἐν τε τοῖς Ἐλευσινίοις Ἐλευσίνι καὶ ἐν τοῖς βολ[ε]υ[ε]ρ[ε]ῖοις.* All the other details are to be taken care of by the *hieropoioi* and the Boule. The *hieropoioi* are to be the ones who actually receive the grain, arrange for its storage and sale, and from its proceeds perform the sacrifice (probably at the end of the festival of the Mysteries). Even the announcement of the hierophant and daduch is not very important. The crucial announcement to the cities is to be made by the Boule through its heralds, so that by comparison the priests' announcement at the Mysteries appears somewhat *pro forma*, merely lending religious and ancestral legitimacy to an enterprise calculated to enhance the glory of Athens as the cradle of civilization, the home of Demeter and Triptolemus.

A great deal of grain is expected. An architect is commissioned to build three new storerooms (*σιροῖ*). A great sacrifice is to be made from the proceeds of the grain, and the money left over is to be used for dedications bearing the inscription *ἀπὸ τοῦ καρποῦ τῆς ἀπαρχῆς ἀνεθέθε, ἑλλένων τὸν ἀπαρχομένον*.²⁵ The body of the decree then closes with a promise of fruitfulness and abundance to those who do not wrong the Athenians, either their city or their Two Goddesses.

This is not a newly invented enterprise, for it is

importance for the present discussion, but I prefer and shall defend elsewhere Meritt's date of 416/5 or 415/4, as argued in *Classical World* 56 (1962–1963): pp. 39–41, where in fact he expresses a preference for Dinsmoor's date (*The Archons of Athens* [Cambridge, Mass., 1931], p. 340), 416/5 (not 415/4 as misprinted in Meritt's article and repeated by Meritt and McGregor in *Phoenix* 21 [1967]: p. 89, n. 20). In an article which appeared after the above was written (*Proc. Amer. Philos. Soc.* 115 [1971]: pp. 109–110) Meritt proposes additional arguments for 416/5.

²⁵ Lines 43–44. I follow Foucart and Ziehen in understanding *ἀπαρχομένον* as modifying *ἑλλένων*. In *I.G.*, I² it is written *ἀπαρχόμενον*; this was done first by Kirchhoff without comment and followed by Dittenberger, Roberts-Gardner, Hiller, and Meiggs and Lewis, evidently interpreting it as modifying an understood *καρπὸν*; but *ἀπάρχομαι* apparently was not used in the passive.

done *κατὰ τὰ πάτρια καὶ τὴν μαντείαν τὴν ἐγ Δελφῶν*²⁶; only the scale is new and, naturally, some of the resulting details. What we are witnessing here is the remaking of an old, local custom²⁷ (to some extent also observed by foreigners) into an institution of such a grand scale that state personnel (the *hieropoioi*) are required to handle the main administrative burdens and consequently overshadow here the traditional administrators of the sanctuary, the hierophant and the daduch. Before this transformation, the procedure concerning the *ἀπαρχή* was probably as follows. Each year at the Mysteries the hierophant and the daduch announced that an *ἀπαρχή* should be given to the Two Goddesses. It was then given the following June at harvest time, stored for the summer (in a *siros*), and taken out at the time of the Mysteries, just before the fall sowing.²⁸ Originally there was in all probability no sacrifice as described in this decree, since it is not performed by an Eleusinian priest. For this reason the Eumolpidae must now give exegesis for it.²⁹ Their exegesis, among other things, would specify the date of the sacrifice, which was left unmentioned in the decree. Even though the state could not arbitrarily institute a sacrifice at the Mysteries without the sanction of the Eumolpidae, it did manage to have it performed by its own appointees and not by the hierophant and daduch.

415 B.C.

At this time the Eleusinian Mysteries were involved in one of the most tragic misfortunes of Athens, the condemnation of Alcibiades on a charge of impiety against the Goddesses of the Mysteries. According to Plutarch the following impeachment was made against him³⁰: *Θεσσαλὸς Κίμωνος Λακιάδης Ἀλκιβιάδην Κλεινίου Σκαμβωνίδην εἰσήγγειλεν ἀδικεῖν περὶ τῷ θεῷ, ἀπομιμούμενον τὰ μυστήρια καὶ δεικνύοντα τοῖς αὐτοῦ ἐταίροις ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ, ἔχοντα στολὴν οἶαν περὶ ὁ ἱεροφάντης ἔχων*

²⁶ Delphi was probably consulted on this occasion of its extension, or at the time it was first extended if this is not the first time; for Delphi was apparently consulted on occasions when there was no answer forthcoming from *τὰ πάτρια* or when the scope of the reform was beyond the scope of *τὰ πάτρια* (as in *I.G.*, II², 204), i.e., when something unprecedented was about to be undertaken.

²⁷ Nilsson, *Geschichte* 1: pp. 471–474.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ Lines 36–37: *καθότι ἂν Εὐμολπίδαι ἐχ[ε]ρ[ε]ν[ε]νται*. (This is an improved reading from a squeeze.) If the sacrifice were really a traditional part of the cult, the priest performing it would know perfectly well all its details without having to be informed by the Eumolpidae. However, a new sacrifice could not be made within the framework of the Mysteries without being sanctioned by the Eumolpidae, the one *genos* whose prerogative it was to know and safeguard the unwritten traditions of this cult and the only *genos* that had the authority to expound these traditions. In this case, in which there was probably no exact precedent, they would have described a sacrifice most in keeping with their traditions.

³⁰ Plutarch, *Alcibiades*, 22, 4.

δεικνύει τὰ ἱερά, καὶ ὀνομάζοντα αὐτὸν μὲν ἱεροφάντην, Πουλυτίωνα δὲ δαδούχον, κήρυκα δὲ Θεόδωρον Φηγαῖα, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ἑταίρους μύστας προσαγορεύοντα καὶ ἐπόπτας παρὰ τὰ νόμιμα καὶ τὰ καθεστηκότα ὑπὸ τ' Εὐμολπιδῶν καὶ Κηρύκων καὶ τῶν ἱερέων τῶν ἐξ Ἐλευσίνος. He was thereupon condemned by default, and it was further decreed that "all priests and priestesses" (i.e., all the Eleusinian ones) were to curse him. Theano, the priestess of Demeter and Kore, however, refused, saying that she was a praying priestess and not a cursing priestess.³¹

Andocides was similarly cursed at this time, in the following manner³²: ἱεραὶ καὶ ἱερεῖς στάντες κατηράσαντο πρὸς ἑσπέραν καὶ φοινικίδας ἀνέσεισαν, κατὰ τὸ νόμιμον τὸ παλαιὸν καὶ ἀρχαῖον.

2. Θεόδωρος. Plutarch, *Alcibiades*, 33. Toepffer, 1889: p. 55. Foucart, 1914: p. 187. *P.A.*, 6827. In office in 415 and 408.

Seven years later, when the Athenians changed their minds and decreed the return of Alcibiades, Theano did not have to undo a curse. The others did³³: ἐψηφίσαντο δὲ . . . τὰς ἀρὰς ἀφοσιώσασθαι ἄλιν Εὐμολπίδας καὶ Κήρυκας, ἃς ἐποίησαντο τοῦ δήμου προστάξαντος. But Theodorus the hierophant tried to save face: ἀφοσιουμένων δὲ τῶν ἄλλων Θεόδωρος ὁ ἱεροφάντης "ἀλλ' ἐγὼ" εἶπεν "οὐδὲ κατηρασάμην αὐτῷ κακὸν οὐδέν, εἰ μὴδὲν ἀδικεῖ τὴν πόλιν." It seems, in effect, in pronouncing the curse he, like the other priests, acted as though he were an organ of the state, the cursing organ; and if the state on another occasion declared the curse to be null and void, he as "official exsecrator," so rescinded it. Of all the priests apparently only Theodorus was clever enough to have hedged his original curse in such a way³⁴ as to make it clear that it was dependent primarily on the will of the state and not his own; thus he personally could appear to take no responsibility for the inanity of cursing someone and then having to take it back. It is interesting that apparently none

of the priests was so revolted by Alcibiades' alleged impiety as to utter a public curse against him completely on his own. The ability to do so might have been, like a papal interdict, a source of considerable political power. But this was not done. From early times *asebeia* was a crime that was under the jurisdiction of the state courts.³⁵ Thus a curse by a priest could appear ridiculous if the man were subsequently found innocent in court. If a hierophant or some other priest of the Mysteries were really concerned about an act of impiety against the Goddesses, the most efficacious course of action would be to initiate a suit of *asebeia* in court (or to provide testimony and support for such a suit). On the other hand, if priests were convinced that a man was in fact innocent of impiety despite the verdict of the court, they apparently could refuse a command of the state to curse him. The case of Theano clearly shows they could do this however strong public indignation against the condemned might be. But Theodorus complied and made the curse; his later rescinding of it (even though the Eumolpidae and Kerykes were opposed to Alcibiades' return)³⁶ and his attempt at saving face show that he was careful to remain on the side of public opinion—an attitude probably rarely found in hierophants when Athens was firmly under the control of the aristocratic *gene*.

3. Ἀρχίας. Pseudo-Demosthenes, *Against Neaera*, 116; Plutarch, *Pelopidas*, 10; *On the Sign of Socrates*, 596e; Nepos, *Pelopidas*, 3.³⁷ Toepffer, 1889: pp. 55–56. *P.A.*, 2447. Foucart, 1914: p. 188. In office in 379.

Two episodes have come down to us concerning Archias. The first relates to the year 379. When Pelopidas and his companions were just about to make an unsuspected *coup d'état* against the oligarchs and Spartan garrison in Thebes, one of the oligarchs, completely drunk, dismissed a messenger from Athens with the words "οὐκοῦν εἰς αὐρίον τὰ σπονδαῖα." The unaccepted letter which the messenger was carrying was from the oligarch's old friend, Archias the hierophant, and contained an advance warning of the forthcoming *coup*. A short time later it took place and the bibulous oligarch was killed.

The starting-point of Pelopidas's operation was ἐν τῷ Θριασίῳ³⁸; from there the younger men among the exiles were sent ahead to take over Thebes while the rest remained behind until they received news of success. The proximity of this gathering place to

³¹ Plutarch does not state explicitly here whether Theano is a priestess of the Mysteries, or whether "all priests and priestesses" means all the Eleusinian ones or all Athenian priestesses and priests in general. Toepffer (1889: p. 96, n. 2) thinks she is the priestess of Demeter and Kore because the case concerned these two goddesses. The real proof, I think, is in Plutarch, *Alcibiades*, 33, where it is stated that in 408 only the priests of the Mysteries, the Eumolpidae and the Kerykes, are asked to undo their curses. Therefore, only the Eleusinian priests were asked to make them in 415. Consequently Theano was an Eleusinian priestess and most probably the priestess of Demeter and Kore. On ἱερέων τῶν ἐξ Ἐλευσίνος see also below, p. 70, n. 12.

³² Pseudo-Lysias, *Against Andocides*, 51, when a somewhat similarly worded charge of impersonating the hierophant is made against him; on the φοινικίδες see below, p. 33.

³³ Plutarch, *Alcibiades*, 33. Cf. Nepos, *Alcibiades*, 6, 5: eidemque illi Eumolpidae sacerdotes rursus resacrare sunt coacti, qui eum devoverant.

³⁴ It is similar to the condition attached to the wish at the end of I.G., I², 76: [hoi]τινες ἂν [μ]ὲ ἀδικῶσι Ἀθηναῖος μετὰ τὴν πόλιν τὴν Ἀθηναίων μετὰ τὸ θεό. So the hierophant's condition should not have struck anybody as being out of the ordinary in religious language.

³⁵ Cf. J. Rudhardt, "La définition du délit d'impieété d'après la législation attique," *Museum Helveticum* 18 (1961): pp. 87–105. Aeschylus was acquitted on a charge of *asebeia* against the Mysteries by the Areopagus. In the same year as Alcibiades Diagoras was also convicted of *asebeia* against the Mysteries.

³⁶ Thucydides, VIII, 53, 2.

³⁷ The passage in Nepos surrounding the name of the hierophant is corrupt.

³⁸ Plutarch, *Pelopidas*, 8.

Eleusis may have facilitated the hierophant's discovery of the plot.

The other episode relates to the time that Archias was convicted of impiety. The conviction and some details of his crime are mentioned by the accuser of Neaera: "Ἀξίον δὲ κάκεῖνο ἐνθυμηθῆναι, ὃ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὅτι Ἀρχίαν τὸν ἱεροφάντην γενόμενον, ἐξελεγχθέντα ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ ἀσεβοῦντα καὶ θύοντα παρὰ τὰ πάτρια τὰς θυσίας, ἐκολάσατε ὑμεῖς, καὶ ἄλλα τε κατηγορήθη αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὅτι Σινώπῃ τῇ ἐταίρᾳ Ἀλφίῳ ἐπὶ τῆς ἐσχάρας ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ Ἐλευσίνι προσαγοῦσθαι ἱερεῖον θύσειεν, οὐ νομίμου ὄντος ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ θύειν, οὐδ' ἐκείνου οὔσης τῆς θυσίας, ἀλλὰ τῆς ἱερείας.³⁹ The hierophant, therefore, probably did not have the right to perform a sacrifice at the Haloa; apparently only the priestess (of Demeter and Kore) had this right.

After recounting this incident, the accuser of Neaera proceeds to stress the importance and prestige of this man.⁴⁰ He was a Eumolpid, of noble ancestry, and very wealthy, having performed several liturgies for the city. But nothing could save him, neither his wealth nor his prestige nor the entreaties of his relatives and friends.⁴¹

373-371

Around 373-371 an unnamed hierophant repaid a loan of 44 minas which he had made by mortgaging a house in the city to Euctemon.⁴² Upon repayment of the loan by the hierophant, Euctemon returned to him the house, of which he (Euctemon) had the use while the mortgage was in effect. The date is reasonably close to the time of Archias's incumbency to regard him as the hierophant in question, though certainty is not possible.

BEFORE MIDDLE OF FOURTH CENTURY B.C.

The hierophant is mentioned in two fragmentary inscriptions dated roughly to before the middle of the fourth century, but no information about the hierophant emerges in either case.⁴³

³⁹ Pseudo-Demosthenes, *Against Neaera*, 116.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 117.

⁴¹ That the sacrifice of the hierophant (legitimately of the priestess) was to Dionysus seems to have escaped the notice of writers on this festival. Deubner (1932: pp. 63-64) cites inscriptions of the third and second centuries B.C. as the earliest testimonia for the connection of Dionysus with this festival, and asserts that until then Dionysus had played "keinesfalls eine erhebliche Rolle." Nilsson (*Geschichte* 1: p. 467) disagrees with his interpretation because of the large number of Dionysiac elements in the festival and because of the time of the year at which it was held. His interpretation is confirmed by this overlooked passage, which shows Dionysus enjoyed an important role, if not the principal one, in this cult as early as the second quarter of the fourth century.

⁴² Isaeus, *On the Estate of Philectemon*, 33. The date of the repayment is obtained from the historical events mentioned in the speech. Cf. J. Fine, *Horoi, Hesperia*, suppl. 11: p. 74.

⁴³ *I.G.*, II², 1540, lines 31-32 (an inventory) and Sokolowski, *Supplément*, 12, line 7. In the first line of the latter, σπ-[ονδοφορίας] (proposed by Oliver) cannot be correct, because the second letter cannot be a π but probably rather a τ (see the forth-

4. *Λακρατείδης*. Isaeus, *On The Estate of Apollodorus*, 9; H. Diehls and W. Schubart, *Didymi de Demosthene Commenta* (Teubner, 1904), col. 13, lines 41-58, and col. 14, lines 35-49.⁴⁴ Toepffer, 1889: p. 55. *P.A.*, 8969. Foucart, 1914: p. 188. In office from shortly before 353 to at least 350/49.

Lacrateides is mentioned as the current hierophant in the following passage of a speech made about 353⁴⁵: "About to set off to Corinth with the Athenian army, Apollodorus, lest anything happen to him, made his will, and provided his sister . . . with a dowry, and gave her (to marry) to Λακρατίδῃ τῷ νῦν ἱεροφάντῃ γεγεννημένῳ." The natural interpretation of the phrase τῷ νῦν ἱεροφάντῃ γεγεννημένῳ is that Lacrateides had just recently become hierophant. The passage refers to the betrothal of Lacrateides and the sister of Apollodorus, which took place just before Apollodorus went off to fight against Corinth, therefore around 394. If we assume that in 394 Lacrateides was about thirty years old, the age at which Greek men were likely to marry,⁴⁶ then he would be close to seventy at the time he was appointed hierophant (shortly before 353).

Statements of Philochorus and Androtion cited in a papyrus of Didymus's commentary on Demosthenes⁴⁷ reveal that he was still serving as hierophant in 350-349. He was therefore in office when in 352 the decree concerning the *ἱερὰ ὄργας* was issued (*I.G.*, II², 204), and participated in its implementation. The following events seem to have led up to this decree. Cultivators of the land adjoining the *hiera orgas*, land sacred to the Eleusinian goddesses, had been gradually encroaching upon it, the boundaries having disappeared in the course of time, and now the encroachment had gone so far that there was cause for special action. A decree was passed calling for the Demos to choose ten men to form a committee which would determine the boundaries of the *orgas*, and for the hierophant, the daduch, the Kerykes, the Eumolpidae, and any other Athenian who wished, to be present during the deliberation of the committee. The oracle at Delphi was to determine a related question: Should the land now encroached upon be rented to its present cultivators in order to pay for the construction of the porch (of the Telesterion) and the repair of the sanctuary, or should the occupants be removed and the land left

coming new edition of this inscription by C. Edmonson). New fragments show that the lines are ninety-seven letters long. Sokolowski's restorations are forty-two letters too short in each line.

⁴⁴ Cf. P. Foucart, *Étude sur Didymos*, pp. 103-106 and 174-183, in *Memoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres* 38 (1906); *F. Gr. Hist.*, 324 (Androtion), F30; 328 (Philochorus), F155.

⁴⁵ Isaeus, *On the Estate of Apollodorus*, 9; for the date see Blass, *Attische Beredsamkeit*, II², p. 552.

⁴⁶ Cf. W. Lacey, *The Family in Classical Greece* (Ithaca, 1968), pp. 106-107. Lacrateides, however, probably did not marry the sister of Apollodorus; cf. J. K. Davies, *Athenian Propertied Families, 600-300 B.C.* (Oxford, 1971), p. 44.

⁴⁷ Diehls-Schubart, *loc. cit.*

uncultivated? Towards the end of the decree it is stated that the hierophant and the priestess of Demeter are to sacrifice an [ἀρεστήριον] to Demeter and Kore, for which the Treasurer of the Demos is to give them thirty drachmae. The decree does not inform us of Apollo's judgment in this matter, but fortunately the papyrus of Didymus does: Apollo decided that the land should be left uncultivated. Later, apparently the Megarians who had encroached on the land disputed the location of the boundaries and were unwilling to pay rent, so that in the year 350/49, to put an end to this, the Athenians marched on Megara.⁴⁸ In the face of the Athenian army the Megarians yielded, on condition that the hierophant and the daduch determine the boundaries: συνεχώρησαν γὰρ οἱ Μεγαρεῖς ὀριστὰς γενέσθαι τὸν ἱεροφάντην Λακρατ(ε)ῖδην καὶ τὸν δαιδοῦχον Ἱεροκλείδην. καὶ ὡς οὗτοι ὤρισαν, ἐνέμειναν.⁴⁹ We are not told whether the boundaries determined by the two priests differed from those set by the committee appointed by the Demos. Unless the Demos was overly zealous they probably did not, since it is hardly likely that the hierophant and the daduch would deprive the goddesses of any of their rightful land. This may have been a face-saving compromise on the part of the Megarians rather than an actual concession by the Athenians, it being easier for the Megarians to accept a settlement decided by the sacred representatives of Demeter and Kore than one decided by a committee representing the Athenian State.

This is another instance of an administrative function of the hierophant, whereby he acts primarily as guardian of the property of the two goddesses. The decree makes it clear that both the Eumolpidae and the Kerykes have to be consulted in this administrative matter, and that the hierophant and daduch are the spokesmen for these *gene*. Thus, as in the administrative matters in the decree of 416/5 concerning the *aparche* (*I.G.*, I², 76), here also, the hierophant, the representative of the Eumolpidae, is joined by the daduch, the representative of the Kerykes. Yet in sacrificing the [ἀρεστήριον] the hierophant's associate is not the daduch but the priestess of Demeter.⁵⁰

Possibly to be identified with this hierophant is the [Λα]κρατείδης [...^{ca.} 9 ... Παι]ανιεύς who dedicated a statue base, dated to the fourth century, (probably) in the Eleusinion in Athens.⁵¹

5. Ἱεροκλείδης Τεισαμενοῦ Παιανιεύς. *I.G.*, II², 1188. Foucart, 1914: p. 188. In office "around the middle of the fourth century."

⁴⁸ G. L. Cawkwell (*R.E.G.* 82 (1969): pp. 330–331) thinks that the dispute at this time concerned just the ἐσχατιαί, not the ἱερὰ ὁργὰς itself. The statements of Philochorus and Androtrion suggest to me that it concerned both.

⁴⁹ Diehls-Schubart, col. 14, lines 40–46.

⁵⁰ See also below p. 71.

⁵¹ *Hesperia* 26 (1957): p. 216, no. 66. A title could be restored in line 1.

He is honored by the deme of Eleusis in a decree dated (by its lettering) to about the middle of the fourth century. Since the exact middle of the century is occupied by Lacrateides, we cannot be sure whether this hierophant was before or after him.

I have been able to read more of this inscription so that an almost completely restored text can be presented here together with commentary and a photograph (fig. 1).

I.G., II², 1188

ca. med. s. IV a.

Stoikhedon 25: lines 1–28

Non-Stoikhedon: lines 29–33

- θ [ε ο ι]
- Εὐθ[...⁶...]θωνος Ἐλευσίνιος *
εἰπ[ε]ν ἐπεὶ δὴ ὁ ἱεροφάντης Ἱερ
- 4 οκλ[είδης Τει]σαμενοῦ Παιανιε
ὡς ἀ[νὴρ ἀ]γ[αθ]ός [ἐ]στ[ιν] περὶ τὸν δ
[ἦ]μο[ν] τ[ὸν] Ἐλευ[σιν]ίων καὶ λέγων
[κ]αὶ [ποι]ῶν ὅτι [δύ]ναται ἀγαθὸν δ
- 8 [ι]ατελεῖ καὶ [νῦν] κα[ὶ] ἐν τῷ ἔμπρ
ο[σ]θ[εν] χρόνῳ [ι, δεδ]ό[χ]θαι Ἐλευσι
[ν]ιο[ς] κύ[ρια] εἶνα[ι] καὶ τὰ ψήφισ
[μα]τα ὁ[σ]α ἐψήφισα[ν]το ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἐλ
- 12 [ε]υσ[ι]νίων τῷ [ι]εροφάντῃ ὅπ[ω]ς
[ἀν] εἰδῶσ[ιν] καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ὅτι [ὁ δ]ῆ
[μος] ὁ Ἐλε[υ]υσ[ιν]ίων ἐπίστα[ται] χ[α]
[ρι]τας ἀπ[ὸ] δίδοναι τοῖς εὖ π[ο]ιο
- 16 [ὑ]σιν αὐτό[ν] ἐπαί[ν]ει[σ]αι [τ]ὸν ἱερο
φάντην Ἱεροκλ[ε]ίδ[η]ν [Τ]ε[ισ]αμε
νοῦ Παιανιέα καὶ στ[ε]φαν[ω]σαι αὐ
τὸν χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ ἀπὸ [Π] * δρ[α]
- 20 [χ]μῶν * εὐσεβείας ἐνε[κ]α τῆς περ
[ι] τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ φιλοτιμί[ας] τῆς [ε]ἰ
[ς] τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἐλευσινίων ἀπ[ὸ] [ε]
[ι]πεῖν τὸν δῆμαρχον τ[ὸ]ν Διο[ν]υ
- 24 [σ]ίοις * ἐν τοῖς τρα[γ]ωιδ[ο]ῖς ὅτι
[ὁ δῆμος] ὁ Ἐλευσινίων [σ]τε[φ]αν[ω]σαι
τὸν ἱεροφάντην εὐσεβεί[ας] ἐνε
κα τῆς περὶ τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ φιλοτιμ
- 28 [ι]ας τῆς εἰς τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἐλε[υ]υσ[ιν]
[ιν]ίων εἶναι αὐτῷ κα[ὶ] ἐκγόνοις ἀτέ
[λειαν] καὶ ...^{ca.} 7 ... τῷ ν[ῦν] δημοτῶν * vac.
ἀναγράψαι τὸ ψήφισμα τ[ὸ]ν δῆμον
- 32 [ρ]χον ἐν στήλῃ λιθί[ν]ῃ καὶ στήσα[ι]
[εἰς] τὸ θέατρον τὸ Ἐλευ[σιν]ίων.
vacat

COMMENTARY

My own restorations are: lines 10, 11 except [μα], 12 except [ευσι], 13–15, 16 beginning, 20 εὔσεβείας, 21, 22 beginning, 23–28, 29 beginning, 31 ἀναγράψαι, 33 beginning. The rest are by Skias or Kirchner and are listed in the *apparatus* of *I.G.*, II², 1188.

Line 1: Perhaps Εἰθ[ίας Γνά]θωνος Ἐλευσίνιος. Εἰθίας Ἐλευσί(ν)ιος is mentioned in *I.G.*, II², 1672, lines 56 and 58 (329/8), and Γνάθων Ἐλευσίνιος, first restored here by Kirchner, appears on a fourth-century grave monument for his wife, *I.G.*, II², 6054 (dated to 365–349).

Lines 10–12: Cf. *I.G.*, II², 275, lines 5–7: [εἶναι δὲ] κύρια [τ]ὰ ψηφίσμα[τα ὅσα Ἀθηναῖοι ἐψηφίσαντο πε]ρὶ αὐτ[οῦ].

Line 19: [Π] fills the space and extends slightly to the right; it does not occupy two spaces but is followed by a blank space.

Line 20: εὔσεβείας and a blank space, rather than ἐπιμελείας seems necessary here because ἐπιμελείας is too long for the lacuna in line 26.

Line 21: [τὸ ἱερόν] Wilamowitz.

Line 22: Kirchner's [Ἀθηναί]ων, strange in an Eleusinian decree, was a result of his incorrect reading of the end of line 21.

Lines 22–24: The Eleusinians regularly had their *demarchos* announce honors conferred by them at their Dionysia. Cf. *I.G.*, II², 1193, lines 15–16: Διονυσίοις ἐν τοῖς τραγωῖδοις. Restoration of a blank space seems unavoidable here.

Line 30: Perhaps [καὶ τᾶλλα τὰ τῶ]ν δημοτῶν, which occurs, with a different sense, in *Hesperia* 8 (1939): p. 178, lines 12–13.

Line 31: ἀναγράψαι fits the space better than γράψαι.

Line 33: [ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ τῇ Ἐλευ]σινίων Skias. There are no examples of decrees of the deme of Eleusis set up in their agora; there are examples for their theater; cf. *I.G.*, II², 1185, line 8. Also possible here is εἰς τὸ Διονύσιον; cf. *I.G.*, II², 1186, line 32.

DISCUSSION

The motivation expressed by the decree for honoring Hierocleides is nothing more than the standard formulae that Hierocleides was a benefactor of the deme; it is not said exactly how he benefited it. If he performed well his duties as hierophant, he could be regarded as responsible to some extent for a large attendance at the Mysteries and thereby for bringing considerable economic benefit to the deme, which had to provide the material needs of the participants.⁵² And of course the preparations for the Mysteries would go most smoothly if he had good relations with the deme and its officials. Apparently this hierophant, who was previously honored by the deme on several occasions (lines 10–12), had excellent relations.

⁵² Cf. below, pp. 28–29.



FIG. 1. *I.G.*, II², 1188.

His honors are *ateleia* and a gold crown⁵³ worth 500 drachmas. *Ateleia* was a dispensation from paying tax to the deme on property owned within its territory by people who were registered in other demes. We

⁵³ Kirchner describes the crown engraved on the stone above the inscription as myrtle. However, it does not differ in appearance from many olive crowns. I think that the decree would state a myrtle crown if such were the case. No instance of the deme of Eleusis issuing a myrtle crown is known. On the subject of crowns see below, pp. 23, 71.

cannot infer from this whether or not Hierocleides actually owned property at Eleusis, though it would not be unreasonable to assume that he did; the dispensation would in any case be available to himself or his descendants if they chose to do so.

That he was wealthy may be inferred from the fact that Teisamenus of Paiania, donor of a gold crown to Athena before 334–331,⁵⁴ was most likely his son. This cannot also be inferred with certainty about his father, probably the Teisamenus of Paiania who was treasurer of Athena in 414/3⁵⁵. Though treasurers of Athena were once taken only from the *pentakosio-medimnoi*, the wealthiest class in Athens, the practice had probably become obsolete by this time.⁵⁶

6. [—]οττος. *I.G.*, II², 1544, line 35. Foucart, 1914: pp. 188–189.

[—]οττου *ιεροφάντου γενομένου* κ[—] is the entire preserved testimony for this hierophant. It is contained in an inventory of the sanctuary drawn up by the *epistatai* from Eleusis in the year 333/2, at the close of their term of office (336/5–333/2).⁵⁷ In Attic prosopography only *Βίωττος* or *Μολοττός* seem to be possible. Because of the fragmentary state of the inscription nothing is known about this hierophant beyond the fact that he was in office at some time in the period the inscription covered, i.e. 336/5–333/2; how long before or after this period his incumbency extended is unknown. The participle *γενομένου* may imply assumption of office during this period.

329/8

Surprisingly, no mention is made of the hierophant in the very extensive account of the sanctuary issued by the *epistatai* in 329/8.⁵⁸ A house of “the priestess” is mentioned several times (lines 17, 74, 305), as well as the house of the daduch (line 305), the houses of “the priestesses” (line 293), and the house of the Kerykes (lines 24–25). The designations “sacred houses” (lines 70, 86, 94, 293) and “the sacred house” (lines 75, 91, 127) also occur; these were dwellings of priests or priestesses, as one entry (line 127) clearly shows: “the sacred house, where the priestess lives.”⁵⁹ And since the houses are included in this account of the expenditures for the sanctuary, they were undoubtedly located in the sanctuary itself. Thus the priestess (of Demeter and Kore), the daduch, and “the priestesses” lived within the sanctuary. But we have no certain information about where the hierophant lived, except for the fact that the hierophant Hierocleides could have owned property outside

the sanctuary (for which he was granted *ateleia* by the deme).⁶⁰

In this same document, an intriguing object, τὸ θακείμεον, “the seat,” is mentioned in line 145 without any defining characteristic: τῷ ἐπισκευάσαντι τὸ θακείμεον καὶ κολλήσαντι τοὺς πόδας τρεῖς ὄντας Χαρίαὶ μισθός: [—]. It appears to have been so well known that it did not need definition. The word θακείμεον is attested only here, according to *L.S.J.*, s.v.; but the use of the cognate verb θακέω generally indicates ceremonial sitting. I suspect that θακείμεον is a “chair of office” or “throne” and is to be identified with the *ιεροφαντικός θρόνος*. The hierophant was apparently the only Eleusinian priest to have a throne⁶¹; part of one from the Roman period was excavated and published by J. Travlos.⁶² If this interpretation of θακείμεον is correct, it is evidence that the custom of the *ιεροφαντικός θρόνος* was in use for over seven hundred years, to the very end of the cult. It is also reasonable to assume that it probably was in use for a long time before this account of 329/8, perhaps from the very beginnings of the cult.

In this account it is also stated that, from the yearly harvest of the Rarian Field, sixty-one *medimnoi* (of barley) were given to “the priests and priestesses” in each of the four years covered by the account, but it is not stated how this was divided among them. A certain amount of Rarian grain was also allotted to them, as a group, for the trieteric and penteteric celebrations of the Eleusinia.⁶³

330–320

An unnamed hierophant appears in an inscription⁶⁴ of this period (330–320), at the head of a group of men selected by him to perform some functions connected with the cult of Pluto in Athens: “The hierophant chose the following men to make up the couch for Pluto and to decorate the table according to the oracle of the god.” Thereupon follows a list of ten distinguished Athenians. This and three other similarly worded inscriptions⁶⁵ are the only testimonia for the custom (in one it is stated that all the chosen men were married). Pluto is of course intimately connected with the cult of Demeter and Kore at Eleusis, and this ceremony in Athens, because of the involvement of the hierophant, must have been related to the Eleusinian cult in some way. The finding-place of these four inscriptions—the Acropolis and its slopes—has led scholars⁶⁶ to connect them with a sanctuary of the Erinyes near there: according to Pausanias⁶⁷ a

⁶⁰ See above, hierophant no. 5.

⁶¹ See below, p. 43.

⁶² See below, p. 44.

⁶³ *I.G.*, II², 1672, lines 255–262.

⁶⁴ *I.G.*, II², 1933. This does not seem to be an example of hieronymy.

⁶⁵ *I.G.*, II², 1934, 1935, 2464 (see below, pp. 22, 29); possibly also *Hesperia* 11 (1942): p. 75, no. 38.

⁶⁶ Cf. Koehler, *Hermes* 6 (1872): p. 106.

⁶⁷ Pausanias, I, 28, 6.

⁵⁴ *I.G.*, II², 1496, line 60.

⁵⁵ *I.G.*, I², 248.

⁵⁶ Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.*, 47, 1.

⁵⁷ *I.G.*, II², 1544, line 35.

⁵⁸ *I.G.*, II², 1672.

⁵⁹ This is also apparent in line 293.

statue of Pluto was situated in a sanctuary of the Erinyes beneath the Areopagus.

Ca. 370–322

From a speech of Hyperides whose title is not known the statement is preserved⁶⁸: "I have the daughter neither of a hierophant nor of a daduch." This is another indication that some hierophants were married, but of course it does not tell us whether they were still married or were widowers at the time they were serving as hierophant.

7. *Eὐρυμέδων*. Diogenes Laertius, *Aristotle*, 5 (ed. Long); Athenaeus, XV, 696a–697b; Index Librorum Hesychii, 189 (ed. I. Düring, *Aristotle in the Biographical Tradition*, p. 88). *P.A.*, 5972. Foucart, 1914: p. 189. In office in 323.

During the outburst of anti-Macedonian feeling which occurred very shortly after the death of Alexander in 323, Eurymedon the hierophant sought to bring Aristotle to trial on a charge of impiety. The incident is briefly described by Diogenes Laertius as follows: "Aristotle withdrew to Chalcis because Eurymedon the hierophant (or Demophilus, as Favorinus says in his *Varia Historia*) brought a charge of *asebeia* against him for having composed a hymn to the above mentioned Hermias as well as the epigram for his statue at Delphi." He then quotes the entire hymn and epigram. However, a speaker in Athenaeus, who relates that Demophilus filed the suit at the urging of Eurymedon, gives more information about the charge: "The poem composed by the learned Aristotle in honor of Hermias of Atarneus is not a paean, as Demophilus (who was suborned by Eurymedon) alleged in his suit of impiety against the philosopher, charging him with commission of an impiety by singing a paean to Hermias every day at the common meals."⁶⁹ The speaker then attempts to prove that Aristotle's poem is actually a *skolion*, and having completed his proof, adds⁷⁰: "Moreover, Aristotle says in his *Defence Against Impiety* (if it is not a forgery): 'If I had intended to sacrifice to Hermias as an immortal I would not have built a monument for him as for a mortal, nor would I have given his body funeral rites if I had intended to regard him as the possessor of an immortal nature.'" From these accounts of the charge and an alleged defense we can infer the precise charge of impiety brought against Aristotle: worshipping in public a god whose

cult was not officially authorized by the state.⁷¹ His accusers evidently attempted to prove this by calling his poem a hymn or a paean, genres which in the Classical period were reserved exclusively for the gods⁷²; and attempted to prove that the worship was public by referring to his singing of the poem at the common meals and to his erecting a statue in Delphi. But Aristotle died at least before any sentence could be carried out and perhaps even before a trial could take place.⁷³ Diogenes composed the following epigram concerning the whole episode:

Εὐρυμέδων ποτ' ἐμέλλεν Ἀριστοτέλην ἀσεβείας
γράφασθαι Διοῦς μύστιδος ὦν πρόπολος.
ἀλλὰ πῶν ἀκόνιτον ὑπέκφυγε τοῦτ' ἀκονιτὶ
ἦν ἄρα νικῆσαι συκοφάσεις ἀδίκους.⁷⁴

Demophilus, in addition to his close cooperation with the hierophant in this case, had at least one other connection with the sanctuary at Eleusis: he was chairman of the *hieropoioi* of the *Boule* who functioned there in 329/8.⁷⁵ But nothing specifically related to the Eleusinian cult appears to have prompted this attack on Aristotle. The impetus is probably to be attributed to the intense anti-Macedonian feeling at the time; in fact, Demophilus's implacable anti-Macedonianism is abundantly clear from his role as one of the accusers of Phocion (for which he was later put to death when the city repented). However, it is not impossible that Eurymedon, the hierophant, was using this anti-Macedonian feeling against Aristotle for other, more personal reasons, having found in the philosopher an attitude toward the Mysteries not as unquestionably reverent as his own.⁷⁶ The next hierophant is said to have certainly felt this way towards a philosopher.

8. *Εὐρυκλείδης*. Diogenes Laertius, II, 101 (ed. Long). Toepffer, 1889: p. 56. *P.A.*, 5964. Foucart, 1914: p. 189. In office during the regime of Demetrius of Phaleron, 317–307.

Eurycleides could not tolerate philosophical jokes

⁷¹ For this type of charge see J. Rudhardt, *Museum Helveticum* 17 (1960): pp. 92–93.

⁷² Plato, *Laws*, 700b and *Republic*, 607a defines *hymnos* as a prayer sung to the gods; cf. A. E. Harvey, "The Classification of Greek Lyric Poetry," *C.Q.* 5 (1955): pp. 164–168. On the paean see Smyth, *Greek Melic Poets*, pp. xxxvi–xxxviii; D. A. Campbell, *Greek Lyric Poetry* (London, 1967), p. xix; and Bowra, *loc. cit.*

⁷³ On this part of Aristotle's life cf. Wormell, *op. cit.*, pp. 83–87; Düring, *op. cit.*, pp. 343–348; O. Gigon, *Vita Aristotelis Marciana* (Berlin, 1962): pp. 74–77.

⁷⁴ *Πρόπολος Διοῦς* is also used of the hierophant in *I.G.*, II², 3411 (after 176 A.D.) and of the priestess of Demeter and Kore in *Hesperia* 10 (1940): p. 97, no. 18 (around 455 B.C.).

⁷⁵ *I.G.*, II², 1672, line 299; cf. *P.A.*, 3675.

⁷⁶ According to Arabic Lives of Aristotle, which are probably derived from a Neoplatonic work by a certain Ptolemy, the motive of Eurymedon was "jealousy" and "a grudge" (see texts in Düring, *op. cit.*, pp. 199 and 214).

⁶⁸ Hyperides, fragment 198 (ed. Jensen).

⁶⁹ Athenaeus, 696a–b. For a study of the hymn (*Poetae Melici Graeci*, no. 842, ed. Page) see D. E. W. Wormell, "The Literary Tradition Concerning Hermias of Atarneus," *Yale Classical Studies* 5 (1935): pp. 61–65 and C. M. Bowra, "Aristotle's Hymn to Virtue," *Problems in Greek Poetry* (Oxford, 1953): pp. 138–150.

⁷⁰ Athenaeus, 697b.

on the Mysteries, so the story is told by Diogenes Laertius:

Once Theodorus (the atheist philosopher) sat down next to Eurycleides the hierophant and said, "Tell me, Eurycleides, who are those who commit impiety against the Mysteries?" "Whoever reveal the Mysteries to the uninitiated," was the answer. To this Theodorus replied, "Then you too are impious, since you reveal them to the uninitiated."⁷⁷

Only Demetrius of Phaleron was able, according to one account, to save Theodorus from being brought before the Areopagus; according to another, he was condemned to death and drank hemlock.⁷⁸

9. Ἱεροφάντης Νουφράδου Περιθοίδης² Μνησίαρχος. *I.G.*, II², 1934; 1700, line 146; 7221. Toepffer, 1889: p. 56. *P.A.*, 11144. Foucart, 1914: p. 189. In office around the end of the fourth century.

Around the end of the fourth century another inscription⁷⁹ was set up of the type concerned with services performed in the cult of Pluto by the hierophant and a group of eminent Athenians. It begins: "[Ἱεροφάν]της Νουφράδου Περιθοίδης inscribed the (following) men chosen by him to make up the couch for Pluto and to decorate the table according to the oracle of the god:

Ἱεροφάντην Νουφρ[άδ]ου Περιθοίδην
Χαρικλῆν Θεοδώρο[υ Φ]αληρέα
Eleven more names in the accusative."

Strangely, the hierophant appears at the head of the list of his chosen men as though he had chosen himself also. It may indicate that in this instance he too contributed like the others to the expense of this rite, whereas normally the hierophant would just officiate.

This is the first clear instance of hieronymy, though it certainly does not mark the beginning of strict hieronymy, because there are several hierophants following him who use their full name.

In this case we may know the hierophant's full name. A Mnesiarchus son of Nuphrades of Perithoidai is recorded as a member of the Boule in

335/4,⁸⁰ but we cannot exclude the possibility that this Mnesiarchus was a brother of the hierophant. If Mnesiarchus was the hierophant, the date of his bouleutic year would agree well with what we know of the age of the hierophants up to now. As a member of the Boule Mnesiarchus had to be over thirty years, so that around the end of the fourth century he would have been at least sixty years old.

Ca. 330-ca. 270

"Hierophant" is mentioned twice in the little that remains of a "Sacred Calendar" issued "ca. 330 to ca. 270"⁸¹ by an unknown authority.⁸² "(The) hierophant and (sacred) herald" are entitled to receive one and a half drachmas for breakfast on the fifth day of Pyanopsion when they announce the beginning of the festival of the Proerosia. This announcement they made, it seems, in Athens. The hierophant was probably regarded as the announcer; the sacred herald the pronouncer. And since the hierophant was responsible for the announcement (πρόρρησις) of this festival, he must have had a considerable role in the celebration of the festival itself, which took place the next day in Eleusis; it had something to do with the ritual plowing of the Rarian Field.⁸³ Other than this no information about the ministers of the festival is preserved.

The calendar also reveals that the hierophant and the "priestesses from Eleusis" went as a sacerdotal delegation from the Eleusinian sanctuary to the Pyanopsia, the festival of Pythian Apollo, which took place in Athens on the seventh of Pyanopsion, and that they brought certain "gifts" to be sacrificed by the Priest of Apollo, and themselves offered liquid offerings and cakes of ground barley.⁸⁴

Ca. 300 B.C.

A speech entitled *Diadikasia of the Priestess of Demeter against the Hierophant*, delivered around the

⁷⁷ Diogenes Laertius, *loc. cit.* The term ἀμύητοι is used loosely here; see above, p. 13.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

⁷⁹ *I.G.*, II², 1934. The date was determined by Kirchner on the basis of its letter-forms and the chronology of the men listed. Foucart wrongly dates this inscription to the end of the third century, because according to him the thirteen men listed (one being the hierophant) correspond to the thirteen tribes of this period, and because Θεόβουλος Θεοφάν[ους Πειραιεύς] is honored on a dedication of the end of the third century (*I.G.*, II², 2798). Kirchner, however, has identified Theobulus with a man of the same name in a list of the second half of the fourth century (*I.G.*, II², 2393, line 8). Moreover, the number of men in *I.G.*, II², 1934 seems to have nothing to do with the number of tribes of the period, because, of the seven whose tribes are known, four are from Aiantis, nor are the men in tribal order.

⁸⁰ *I.G.*, II², 1700, line 146. He can also be restored in *I. G.*, II², 7221 (probably a catalog of some sort rather than a grave monument).

⁸¹ *I. G.*, II², 1363, recently edited by S. Dow and R. F. Healey, *A Sacred Calendar of Eleusis*, Harvard Theological Studies 21 (1965); for comments and a list of reviews see J. and L. Robert *R.E.G.* 80 (1967): p. 481, no. 217.

⁸² There is no good reason for assuming, with Dow and Healey, that this was issued by the deme of Eleusis. Non-civic corporations could also issue cult regulations; cf. the decree of the *genos* of the Salaminioi (Sokolowski, *Supplément*, 19). There is no known instance of the deme of Eleusis having a regulatory role in the cult of the Eleusinian sanctuary (see above, Introduction): as far as the only evidence goes, the cult was controlled by certain *gene*, primarily the Eumolpidae and Kerykes; and the administration of the sanctuary was controlled mainly by the Eumolpidae and the Kerykes, and in some respects, mostly financial, by the Athenian state. Hence a safer assumption would be that this "calendar" was issued by the *gene* or the state or both.

⁸³ Cf. Deubner, 1932: pp. 68-69; Dow-Healey, *op. cit.*, pp. 14-20.

⁸⁴ *I.G.*, II², 1363, lines 9-19; cf. Dow-Healey, *op. cit.*, pp. 23-28.

end of the fourth century and falsely attributed to Dinarchus,⁸⁵ is another testimony of the struggle for sacral power which went on at this period between the priestess and the hierophant.⁸⁶ Only two words are preserved: *Δυσσάλης* and *ὀρθάπτου*. The former was the name of a native of Eleusis, the husband of Baubo, who entertained Demeter; thus arguments based on mythology were apparently used. *ὀρθάπτου* is defined as "a purple woolen cloth with which they wipe the statues of gods"; Foucart conjectures that this may refer to the priestess's right of taking care of certain statues.⁸⁷ The case would have come before the basileus.⁸⁸

10. *Χαιρήτιος Προφήτου Ἐλευσίνιος*. *I.G.*, II², 1235. Toepffer, 1889: pp. 56–57. *P.A.*, 15209. Foucart, 1914: p. 189. In office around 248/7.

He is honored with a myrtle crown in a decree of the *gene* of the Eumolpidae and the Kerykes, sometime around 248/7.⁸⁹ The inscription refers also to the fact that a myrtle crown is normally worn by the hierophant (line 15). Nevertheless, the *gene* honor him with one, just as they do in all other preserved cases where they honor someone, no matter what his office.⁹⁰

The reasons stated for honoring Chaeretus are that "(1) in word and deed he is doing everything he can for their welfare, and (2) for those who are abroad as *spondophoroi* he kindly continues to copy 'the announcement,' and (3) he demonstrates a blameless and becoming behavior in his priestly office."⁹¹ The first and third reasons offer no concrete information, but the second is interesting: he continuously copied "the announcement," i.e. the announcement of the Mysteries, for the *spondophoroi* who had to promulgate it abroad. It is certainly not a question here of exact copies—the hierophant was not a scribe—but of copies varying according to the city and the circumstances in which the announcement was to be made, therefore copies that had to be prepared by a knowledgeable person. These announcements were undoubtedly rhetorical pieces of propaganda (probably not unlike the propaganda concerning Athens in *S.I.G.*³, 704E), which had the purpose of encouraging

attendance at the Mysteries. The hierophant, to be sure of success in this regard, had to know something about his unseen audience, their traditions, their great deeds, their special relationship to Athens and the Mysteries; above all, he could not afford to commit any *faux pas*, such as an inappropriate reference to some past or present point of contention between the two cities.⁹² This decree testifies to Chaeretus's success. And because of it the celebrations will have been well attended, and the prestige of the *gene* enhanced.

A large attendance also brought another benefit to the *gene*. The *spondophoroi* solicited *theoroi*, in addition to initiates, from the cities they visited.⁹³ The greater their success in this regard, the more *theoroi* and initiates would make sacrifices at the Mysteries. Proceeds from a portion of the sacrifices were distributed among the Eumolpidae and probably also the Kerykes.⁹⁴

THIRD CENTURY B.C.

A third-century dedication honoring a hierophant, *I.G.*, II², 2944, probably a statue base, is inscribed on its front and two sides (the back is not preserved)⁹⁵; it has on its front the following inscription within a myrtle crown:⁹⁶

[τὰ γ]ένῃ
[τὰ π]ερὶ τῷ θεῷ
[ἱεροφ]αντοῦντα
[ἀρετῆς] ἐνεκεν
[καὶ εὐσε]βείας
[καὶ φιλοτιμίας]
[τῇ]ς [εἰς] ἑαυτο[ῦς]
[κ]αὶ ἐκ[όν]ι χαλκῇ[ι].

Corresponding to this crown there is another myrtle crown on the right face of the stone and another on the left face, within each of which, respectively, is written: *Εὐ[μολπίδαι]* | *ἱερο[φαντοῦντα]* κτλ. and *[Κήρυκες]* | *[ἱεροφαντοῦ]ντα*. Beneath the myrtle crown on the front there is an olive crown; corresponding to it is an olive crown on the left face on the same level; and undoubtedly there was originally another corresponding olive crown on the right face. Beneath the olive crown on the left face there is another olive crown; and again, undoubtedly similar crowns origi-

⁸⁵ Dionysius of Halicarnassus, I, p. 314, 12–17 (ed. Usener and Radermacher); Harpocration, s.v. *Δυσσάλης*; Pollux, VII, 69 (ed. Bethe); cf. Muller, *Oratores Attici*, Dinarchus, frag. XXX, pp. 450 and 463.

⁸⁶ See above, in connection with hierophant no. 3, Archias.

⁸⁷ 1914: p. 219.

⁸⁸ Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.*, 57.

⁸⁹ *I.G.*, II², 1235. The proposer of this decree also proposed a decree of the year 248/7 (*I.G.*, II², 683; cf. Meritt, 1961: p. 234).

⁹⁰ *I.G.*, II², 1231; 1235; 1236; 2944; 1045 (see Appendix II); *Hesperia* 11 (1942): p. 265, no. 51. The Demos and the Boule also occasionally honored benefactors of the Eleusinian sanctuary with myrtle crowns: *I.G.*, II², 847; 949; 3220; *Hesperia* 26 (1957): pp. 57–58, no. 12.

⁹¹ *I.G.*, II², 1235, lines 4–9.

⁹² Cf. L. Robert, *Hellenica* 11–12 (1960): p. 109; A. Wilhelm, *Wiener Anzeiger* 61 (1924): pp. 101–104; Foucart, 1914: pp. 270–271.

⁹³ One delegation of *theoroi* to the Mysteries, from Miletus, is attested (*I.G.*, II², 992, second century B.C.).

⁹⁴ See *I.G.*, II², 1231, lines 9–13 and 1078, lines 35–36.

⁹⁵ This description is from an inspection of the stone.

⁹⁶ I assume that it is a myrtle crown since it is represented quite differently from the crowns on a lower level, and the Eumolpidae and the Kerykes are the honoring agents: as in *I.G.*, II², 1235, they would normally honor a hierophant with a myrtle crown.

nally corresponded to it on the front and on the right face (there are traces of the one on the front). In none of the olive crowns is the name of the dedicator preserved; but since, so far as we know, the Eumolpidae and Kerykes granted only myrtle crowns when honoring someone with a crown,⁹⁷ the olive crowns ought to signify honors from another source, probably from civic corporations, who will have honored the hierophant for having served with distinction in some civic office or offices. One such office seems to be mentioned in line 4: [----]αντα. He held it before he was hierophant, or at least before the time of this dedication, since [ιεροφα]ντοῦντα indicates that he was currently hierophant, while [----]αντα is most likely the end of an aorist participle.

The meaning of τὰ γένη τὰ περὶ τῷ θεῷ has been unclear. Foucart, when he first published the inscription,⁹⁸ assumed that it meant the Eumolpidae and Kerykes acting together. Later,⁹⁹ he decided that it could not be they since they are mentioned on the left and right sides of the inscription, but it should be rather the other *gene* which supplied priests and priestesses for the Mysteries. The former meaning, however, seems to me to be the correct one. If the latter had been intended, it would most likely have been expressed by the phrase τὰ ἄλλα γένη τὰ περὶ τῷ θεῷ; for the Eumolpidae and the Kerykes were certainly γένη τὰ περὶ τῷ θεῷ, and it would have been confusing if τὰ γένη τὰ περὶ τῷ θεῷ were to be understood as a separate body from them. Moreover, *I.G.*, II², 1235 shows that on occasion the Eumolpidae and Kerykes did act in very close concert (line 3): τῷ γένει τῷ τε Κηρύκων καὶ Εὐμολπιδῶν. Thus, τὰ γένη τὰ περὶ τῷ θεῷ could well signify the same sort of cooperation, with the crowns on the two sides signifying that each *genos* also independently decreed honors for this hierophant. Furthermore, there is a passage referring to the Eumolpidae and Kerykes where τὰ γένη τὰ περὶ τῷ θεῷ can be read with high probability. If we restore εἰς τὰ γένη in *I.G.*, II², 1236, line 12, so as to read [εὔσεβοῦντας εἰς τὰ γένη] τὰ περὶ τῷ θεῷ κτλ., the sense and the space are both satisfied, since it is clear from the sentence that the object of εὔσεβοῦντας εἰς has to be the Kerykes and the Eumolpidae.

It is conceivable that an occasion might arise where this phrase had a wider significance, encompassing the other *gene* of the Mysteries in addition to the Eumolpidae and the Kerykes, but in default of any evidence for it there is no reason to assume that this was the case in *I.G.*, II², 2944.

11. 'Αριστοκλῆς Περιθοίδης. *Hesperia* 11 (1942): pp. 293–298, no. 58 (= *S.E.G.*, XXII, 124; *Hesperia* 29 [1960]: p. 417; *R.E.G.* 75 [1962]: pp. 147–8 no. 111 [*Bull. épig.*]); *I.G.*, II², 2332, lines 49–52;

append. II (= *I.G.*, II², 1045; *S.E.G.*, III, 104). *P.A.*, 1881. In office from 183/2 to at least the sixteenth of Pyanopsion, 148.

A decree honoring this hierophant and providing much information concerning his activities in office was issued in 148.¹⁰⁰ Since the text needs to be examined in detail in connection with a discussion of this priest, and I have been able to make some new readings after inspecting the stone, a new version with a photograph (fig. 2) is given here.

S.E.G., XXII, 124

- Ἐπὶ Λυσιάδου ἄρχοντος Π[υανοφ]ιῶνος ἐκτ[ε] ἐπὶ
δέκα κατὰ θεόν, κατὰ δὲ ἄρ[χοντ]α πέμπτει [ἴστα]
μένου, ἀγοραὶ κυραὶ ἐν [ca. 6.] νδίων, Ἄμυν[όμαχος]
4 Εὐκλέους Ἀλαιοῦς ἐ[ἴπεν] ἐπεὶ ἰδὴ ὁ ἱεροφάντης
'Αριστοκλῆς Περιθοίδ[ης εὐνου]ς τε ὦν διατ[ελεῖ]
κατ' ἰδίαν ἐκάστωι κα[ὶ κοινῇ πᾶ]σιν Εὐμολπ[ίδα]ις,
κατασταθεὶς δὲ ἱεροφάντης ἐπ[ὶ] Ἑρμογέν[ου ἄρχοντος]
8 ἀνευέωσατό τε τῇ[ν ἀναγρα]φ[ῆ]ν τὴν τοῦ [ca. 10]
ἐκ τῶν ἀρχαίων γρα[μματε]ῶν [τῶ]ν ἐν [τῷ] Ἑλευσινί[ῳ]
καθ' ἣν ἔδει τὸν [ἀεὶ ἱ]εροφάντ[ου]ν [τα ca. 10]
συνέγραψαν Εὐμολπ[ίδα]ις ΕΠΙΔΙ[ca. 5] καὶ κατὰ τὸ
12 ψήφισμα Φιλόν[αυ]του καὶ κατὰ τ[ὰ] ἄλλα ψήφισματα
τοῦ δήμου τὰ εἰσα[γωγ]εῖα καλῶς κ[αταγράφει] ὅσα ἐπρά[γ]
χ[θη] μετασχόντ[ω]ν καὶ Εὐμολπιδῶν [μετὰ πάσης παρα]
[σκ]ευῆς καὶ φιλοτιμίας, ψήφισμά τε ἐ[ἰσήνεγκεν] ἔ
16 [να] ἀναγρα[φῆ]ν ἢ εἰσαγωγῇ ἐν στήλῃ[ι λιθίνῃ ἐν]
[τῷ] Ἑλευσινί[ῳ] ἢ ἐκλελειμμένων [δὲ πολλῶν θυσίων]
[δι] ἑτ[ῶ]ν [π]λειόνων διὰ τοὺς καιρ[οὺς] ἐν ἐκάστωι
[τῷ] ἐν[α]υτῷ ἔθυσεν τε αὐτὸς κ[αὶ] πρόσδο[ν]
20 [ποιῶ]ν ἀμεινον[ος] πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν κα[ὶ] ἐνεφάνισεν
[περ]ὶ αὐτῶν καὶ ψήφισμα ἐπέκ[λυ]σε ἵνα προσόδ[ω]
[πολ]λῶν γινομένων εἰς [τὰ ἱερὰ αἱ θυσίαι συντελῶνται]
[τοῖ]ς θεοῖς κατὰ τὰ [πάτρια] -----
24 [πα]τρὶον ἀγῶν[ος] -----
[ca. 10] NK[-----]

COMMENTARY

The following commentary deals with points where my text differs from that of Meritt and Hubbe.

Line 8: διαγραφῆ[ν] Meritt. For the use of an ἀναγραφῆ in connection with a *genos* see below, p. 56.

Meritt restored ἱεροφάντων in the lacuna at the end of the line, but there are other possibilities, e.g., γένους.

Line 9: γρα[μματε]ῶν Meritt.

Line 10: ἱερ[οφάντ]ην[?] [ca. 10] Meritt. The trace at the end of the line seems to conform to N better than T.

Line 11: ἐπιδι[δόναι] Meritt. I am hesitant about this restoration. If the letter after ΕΠΙΔΙ were Δ part of the horizontal stroke ought to be visible, but the area is uninscribed.

¹⁰⁰ See Meritt (*Hesperia* 34 [1965]: p. 90) concerning the date.

⁹⁷ See above, note 90.

⁹⁸ *B.C.H.* 6 (1882): p. 434.

⁹⁹ 1914: p. 161.



FIG. 2. *Hesperia* 11 (1942): no. 58. Courtesy of Agora Museum.

Line 12: Φίλον[αὐτ]ου Meritt.

Line 13: [ἐπραττεν ὅσα ἐτάχ]θη Meritt.

Meritt,¹⁰¹ citing *S.I.G.*³, 1106, lines 52–56, an inscription from Cos, where εἰσαγωγίον means “entrance-fee,” offered the attractive conjecture that εἰσαγωγήα are the initiation-fees, which are described (though not named) in *I.G.*, I², 6.¹⁰² But we should probably look for some other verb in place of [ἐπραττεν], because it is clear from *I.G.*, I², 6 that other priests were involved in the collection, and, anyway, the collection by itself would not be the sort of thing that would prompt special praise. It is more likely that the operation to be restored here is the *registering* of the initiation-fees. A trace of the first letter of the verb is visible; it is a vertical stroke and shows that the letter cannot be an epsilon. Thus the correct restoration is probably κ[αταγράφει ὅσα ἐπράχ]θη or κ[ατέγραφεν ὅσα ἐπράχ]θη or γ[ράφει ὅσα ἐπράχ]θη. Support for this can be found in an inventory of 408/7 (*I.G.*, I², 313, lines 161–162) where three and one-half drachmas are listed as paid to the Eumolpidae for στανίδια ἐν ο[ί]ς τὸς μύστας κ[αταγ]ράφ[ουσι]. It was an annual responsibility of the Eumolpidae to record the names of the initiates, and the inscription under discussion probably refers to the same task, except that the emphasis is on the fees, not the names.¹⁰³ Perhaps the fees were marked next to the names. At any rate, Aristocles faithfully directed the Eumolpidae in this task each year, and in addition he had a *psephisma* passed calling for the “collection (of the entrance-fees),” the εἰσαγωγή, to be inscribed on stone, his innovation being perhaps the stone instead of the usual *sanidia*.

Line 14: Εὐμολπιδῶ[ν] Meritt.

Line 15: [εἰσηνεγκεν] Meritt and Hubbe.

Line 16: στήλ[η] Meritt and Hubbe.

Line 19: ἐνια[υτῶ] Meritt and Hubbe; [καὶ νῦν πρόσδο]ν Meritt and Hubbe, [καὶ πρόσδο]ν J. and L. Robert. The latter¹⁰⁴ object to νῦν; I agree that it is unnecessary, especially since space does not really demand it (line 15 is of the same length).

Line 20: [γνώμην ἐνεφάνισεν] Meritt and Hubbe.

J. and L. Robert¹⁰⁵ also point out that the phrase

γνώμην ἐνεφάνισεν is unparalleled; γνώμην never occurs in conjunction with ἐνεφάνισεν. Traces on the stone at the end of this line solve the problem. E. Vanderpool kindly checked them for me and found Κ/, and my own later observation was the same. Thus κα[ὶ ἐνεφάνισεν] is probably the correct restoration. The phrase ἐμφανίζειν περί τινος is well attested.¹⁰⁶ The sense then is clear. Aristocles made a declaration or report before the Boule concerning the sacrifices which he had restored. He had first taken personal action to restore a neglected custom and then had the government take legal action to assure its observance in the future. He could not propose a decree (as he did in regard to the εἰσαγωγή) because at this time he was not a member of the Boule, but he spoke before it and managed to persuade it to pass a decree.

Line 21: [περί] Meritt, ἐπεκέρ[υξεν] ἵνα προσόδω[ν] Meritt and Hubbe, [ἵνα χρημάτων] Tod.

The phrase καὶ ψήφισμα ἐπεκέρ[υξεν], as restored by Meritt and Hubbe, must refer to Aristocles' persuasion of the Boule. J. and L. Robert point out¹⁰⁷ that this meaning for ἐπικυρῶν is unique and very doubtful. E. Vanderpool at my request kindly checked this word on the stone and found ΕΠΕΚ' and I at a later time noticed the same traces. The verb ἐπικυρῶ is attested for a situation similar to this. *I.G.* II², 1012, lines 12–23 (111 B.C.), reads: πρόσδοτον ποιησάμενος πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν . . . ἐμφανίζει τῇ βουλεῖ . . . καὶ διὰ ταῦτα παρακαλεῖ τὴν βουλὴν ἐπικυρῶσαι ἑαυτῶι ψήφισμα. In this instance Diognetus reported that his *synodos* wished to erect a statue, and asked the Boule to ratify (ἐπικυρῶσαι) a decree permitting this. In our case the hierophant Aristocles decided to restore a series of sacrifices, and then made an appearance before the Boule concerning them and requested the Boule to pass a decree to support this restoration. ἐπεκέρ[υξεν] would accordingly mean here “had a decree ratified,” as γράψαι τὸ ψήφισμα usually does not mean “inscribe the decree” but “have the decree inscribed.”

Lines 23–3: Restorations of the lacunae are by J. and L. Robert, and have been accepted by Meritt and Hubbe.

Line 24: [. . .]ΟΥ ΑΓΩ Meritt.

There was a πάτριος ἁγών at the Eleusinia (*I.G.*, II², 1672, lines 259–260), at the Dionysia in the theater at Eleusis (*I.G.*, II², 1235, line 17), and at the Halao (*I.G.*, II², 1299, line 29).

DISCUSSION

That the decree was issued by the Eumolpidae can safely be inferred from lines 5–6. The meeting-place (line 3) is an enigma. *I.G.* II², 1045 (see Appendix II)

¹⁰¹ *Hesperia* 11 (1942): p. 297.

¹⁰² A text of the relevant portion of *I.G.*, I², 6 is given above, pp. 10–11. Another word for entrance-fee is εἰσηλίσσιον; cf. *I.G.*, II², 1368, lines 37, 61, 103, for admittance to the Iobacchoi. Hesychius defines εἰσηλίσσιον as τίμημα εἰσόδου, τέλος. For a discussion of these terms see A. Wilhelm, *Jahreshefte* 5 (1902): p. 138.

¹⁰³ In the inventory of 408/7 the proceeds from the Greater and Lesser Mysteries (lines 144–146) appear shortly before the lines just cited: ἐπέτεια [ἐγένετο ἐκ τῶν] μεγ[ά]λων μυ[σ]τερίων, followed by the amount. If the interpretation of this notice advanced above (p. 13) is correct, this is the sum of the fees mentioned in *I.G.*, I², 6 which were collected from the initiates and became “sacred to the Two Goddesses.” (Meritt has kindly informed me that the restoration [ἐπεγένετο] in *I.G.*, I², 313 is too long by two letters, so [ἐγένετο] should be restored.)

¹⁰⁴ *R.E.G.* 57 (1944): p. 197, no. 66; 75 (1962): pp. 147–148, no. 111.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁶ See especially *S.I.G.*³, 412, line 4.

¹⁰⁷ *R.E.G.* 75 (1962): *loc. cit.*

may be a fragment of another copy of this decree¹⁰⁸; it too honors a hierophant Aristocles, in all probability the same person.

Aristocles is the first hierophant whose year of appointment is known with certainty: he was appointed in the archonship of Hermogenes, 183/2 (line 7). The decree honoring him was passed in the archonship of Lysides, whose year Meritt now believes to be 148/7 (though 152/1 is also possible).¹⁰⁹ Therefore Aristocles served as hierophant for at least thirty-five (or thirty-one) years. If he had been about sixty years old when he was appointed, the age of some of the earlier hierophants at the time of their appointment, he would have been around ninety-five years old at the time of this honorary decree. In 183/2, the year of his appointment, he participated with many other Athenians in making contributions for some unspecified purpose (*I.G.*, II², 2332, lines 50–52); he gave an unknown amount on behalf of himself and ten drachmas “on behalf of his son Eucles and on behalf of his brother Amynomachus of Halai.” He has no title in this list, so it may be, as Meritt observed, that he was appointed hierophant later that year. Amynomachus was probably too young to contribute on his own behalf; i.e., he was probably less than thirty years old. If Aristocles was sixty years old, there would have been more than a thirty-year difference between them. Thus, to assume that Aristocles was sixty years old when he was appointed hierophant requires the further assumption that he and his brother were most likely not born of the same mother. This is not an unreasonable assumption because Amynomachus was adopted by Eucles of Halai probably not long before 183/2 (see below), which may have been prompted by the fact that his aging father had recently died; Amynomachus could therefore have been born of a second or subsequent wife of his father late in his father’s life. Consequently, an age of sixty years for Aristocles at the time of his assumption of office can neither be denied nor affirmed with certainty; but since affirmation makes Aristocles a nonagenarian at the time he was honored and requires his brother to have been born of a second or subsequent wife of his father, probability tends to favor, and a simple hypothesis demands, a younger age.

In his thirty-five (or thirty-one) years of service before the present decree in his honor, he did much to restore the cult he was in charge of; his reforms are testimony of his dedication and energy. Line 15 apparently indicates that at one time he was a member of the Boule while hierophant.

During his tenure as hierophant a decree was passed

¹⁰⁸ The connection was first pointed out to me by E. Vanderpool, who also informed me that the Agora Excavations possessed a photograph of *I.G.*, II², 1045.

¹⁰⁹ *Hesperia* 34 (1965): p. 90.

(164 B.C.) honoring a demarch of Eleusis,¹¹⁰ where it is mentioned that the procession of the Calamaea was conducted by the demarch, the hierophant, and “the priestesses.” The hierophant therefore had a substantial role also in this little known agrarian festival of Eleusis.¹¹¹

12. Ἀμυννόμαχος Εὐκλέους Ἀλαιοῦς. *I.G.*, II², 2332, line 52; 3469; above, p. 24, lines 3–4. *P.A.*, 739. Foucart, 1914: p. 190. In office in the second half of the second century, sometime after the sixteenth of Pyanopsion, 148, probably succeeding Aristocles, his brother.

He was the brother of Aristocles, but his deme is Halai, which reveals that he was adopted by some member of that deme, as Kirchner (*P.A.*, 1881) noted before the name of his adoptive father was known. He was the proposer of the decree edited above honoring his brother, where his adoptive father’s name is given as Eucles. Sometime after this he himself was appointed hierophant, according to a dedication (*I.G.*, II², 3469) which reads¹¹²:

Ἱεροφάντ[ης] Ἀμυννόμαχ[ος]
Εὐκλέ[ους] Ἀλ[α]ιοῦς.

Meritt presents the following prosopography for this man¹¹³: “From our present text [the decree for Aristocles] it is clear that the adoptive father was Eukles, possibly a descendant of Eukles, son of Eukleides, of Halai, of the fourth century (*P.A.*, 5715). The father of our present Eukles is doubtless to be identified as that Εὐκλῆς Εὐκλείους Ἀλαιοῦς who was ephebos in 258/7 B.C. in the archonship of Antiphon (*Hesperia* 7 [1938]: no. 20, line 53). His son would then have been of mature years when he adopted the young Amynomachos early in the second century. The family tie thus indicated between Eukles and Aristokles is also manifest in the fact that Aristokles named his own son Eukles (*I.G.*, II², 961, line 21; 2332, line 50).” Amynomachus would then have been around fifty years old (or even older) when he proposed the decree honoring his brother, and so probably over fifty when he succeeded his brother as hierophant.

129/8

A decree of 129/8¹¹⁴ mentions that the hierophant and the daduch καὶ οἱ μετὰ τούτων ἥκοντες¹¹⁵ took part in the procession in honor of Apollo at the Thargelia.

¹¹⁰ *I.G.*, II², 949.

¹¹¹ Deubner (1932: pp. 67–68) gives the evidence for it.

¹¹² Restored by Meritt, *Hesperia* 11 (1942): p. 297; and independently by W. Peek, *Ath. Mitt.* 67 (1942): p. 45, no. 62. The stone shows that the first five letters of the patronymic should be dotted.

¹¹³ *Hesperia* 11 (1942): p. 296.

¹¹⁴ Sokolowski, *Supplément*, 14, line 36.

¹¹⁵ The meaning of οἱ μετὰ τούτων ἥκοντες is not clear. A. Wilhelm (*Sitzungsberichte Wien* 224 [1947]: pp. 27–53) suggested a

13. Μενεκλείδης Θεοφήμου Κυδαθηναίους. *I.G.*, II², 3512; 2452, lines 48, 59; *B.C.H.* 15 (1891): p. 261. *P.A.*, 9902. Foucart, 1914: p. 190. In office in the last quarter of the second century.

A list of distinguished Athenians (*I.G.*, II², 2452) was set up, for some unknown purpose, in the last quarter of the second century; towards the end of it three hierophants were included. They are:

- Ἱεροφάντης Θεοφ[ήμου Κυδαθηναίους] (line 48)
Ἱεροφάντης Εὐστρόφου Πειραιεύς (line 53)
Ἱεροφάντης Μενεκλείδου Κυδαθηναίους (line 59).

It is odd indeed to see three hierophants together on the same stone, but as they are inscribed by different hands, like the other names in this inscription, they did not originally appear there at the same time. The list was begun around 125 B.C. and was supplemented from time to time probably until the beginning of the first century. So we may assume that each hierophant was recorded at some time during his period of office and that this is a record of three successive hierophants. They or their fellow citizens practiced hieronymy.

The original names of the first and third are known. There was a family from Kudathenaion in which the names of father and son alternated between Menecleides and Theophemus through the second half of the second and the early part of the first century before Christ.¹¹⁶ The first and third hierophants were undoubtedly father and son in this family, Menecleides and Theophemus. They did not hold office in direct succession; Hierophant son of Eustrophus of Peiraeus came between them.

It is not immediately apparent which Menecleides son of Theophemus of Kudathenaion is honored as hierophant in the dedication *I.G.*, II², 3512. There are three possibilities: the Menecleides of this list (*I.G.*, II², 2452, line 48), who was hierophant in the last quarter of the second century, an hypothetical Menecleides whose *akme* would have been in the first

quarter of the first century (*P.A.*, 9901), and the Menecleides son of Theophemus of Kudathenaion who was cosmète in 13/2 (*I.G.*, II², 1963, lines 3–4; *P.A.*, 9903). Philios¹¹⁷ and Kirchner¹¹⁸ identify the latter with the hierophant of the dedication because they believe that the dedication (on the basis of its lettering) belongs to the early Empire. However, except for a slightly peculiar *epsilon* (Ε), its lettering does not seem to me to be significantly different from the lettering of *I.G.*, II², 3469 which is dated (see the previous hierophant) to the third quarter of the second century. Since the same style of lettering has such wide chronological limits at this time, and since we do not know at all whether Menecleides the cosmète was a hierophant, it seems methodologically preferable to assign the dedication to the only Menecleides who is a known hierophant, the Menecleides of the list (*I.G.*, II², 2452, line 48).¹¹⁹ Nevertheless, the possibility cannot be excluded that another Menecleides in this family was also a hierophant.

The dedication *I.G.*, II², 3512 shows that Menecleides was married while a hierophant (it was made by his wife in honor of him as a hierophant). If hieronymy was strictly observed at this time, as is assumed (see above, Introduction), the monument was erected after the hierophant's death.

14. Ἱεροφάντης Εὐστρόφου Πειραιεύς. *I.G.*, II², 2452, line 53. Toepffer, 1889: p. 57. *P.A.*, 6802. Foucart, 1914: p. 190. In office in the last quarter of the second century.

He was probably the successor of Menecleides. A Theodotus son of Eustrophus of Peiraeus, the gymnasiarch in 132/1 who was praised by the demos of the Salaminians in 131 (*I.G.*, II², 1227), has been identified with this hierophant by Toepffer, Foucart, and Kirchner. However, the possibility that he was a brother of the hierophant cannot be excluded.

15. Θεόφημος Μενεκλείδου Κυδαθηναίους. *I.G.*, II², 2452, line 59. Toepffer, 1889: p. 57. *P.A.*, 7097. Foucart, 1914: pp. 190–191. In office around the end of the second century.

He probably succeeded Hierophant son of Eustrophus of Peiraeus who served between his father Menecleides and himself.

END OF SECOND CENTURY B.C.

According to a law issued around this time concerning weights and measures, *I.G.*, II², 1013, the hierophant and "appointed men" (line 48) are to punish transgressors each year during the *panegyris* (of the

parallel with *I.G.*, II², 1013, line 48: ὁ τε ἱεροφάντης [καὶ οἱ κα]θ[ε]σταμένοι ἀνδρες καθ' ἑκαστον [τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν] ἐπὶ τὴν πανήγυριν. The καθεσταμένοι ἄνδρες are requested in this decree concerning weights and measures to mete out punishments to those custodians of the measures at Eleusis who are found guilty of certain infractions at the *panegyris*. Thus they have duties very similar to the *epimeletai* of the Mysteries or the *taxiarchoi* (for these see *Hesperia* 9 [1940]: pp. 104–105, no. 20) and are probably the same type of officials. I think that it is unlikely that officials who were specifically in charge of keeping order at the Mysteries would have been requested to keep order also at the Thargelia without some specific mention of this extension of duty or at least something more definite in respect to designation than οἱ μετὰ τούτων ἥκοντες. The context seems instead to call for sacred officials. The phrase may be deliberately indefinite; perhaps the question of which Eleusinian sacred officials would take part was not decided at the time but was left to the discretion of the *gene* in charge of the Eleusinian cult.

¹¹⁶ For the stemma see *P.A.*, 9902.

¹¹⁷ *B.C.H.* 19 (1895): p. 129.

¹¹⁸ *P.A.*, 9903 and *I.G.*, II², 3512.

¹¹⁹ Foucart also assigns *I.G.*, II², 3512 to the Menecleides of II², 2452, line 48, mistakenly interpreting Philios as having made this identification.

Mysteries). Who appointed the "appointed men" is not stated, but presumably they were subordinate to the hierophant and were necessary for the extensive surveillance involved at the *panegyris*.

BEFORE MIDDLE OF FIRST CENTURY B.C.

The hierophant is mentioned in a fragment of a decree preserved only in a copy of Pittakys and dated to before the middle of the first century.¹²⁰ The decree is concerned with Eleusinian matters (the priestess of Demeter and the Eumolpidae are mentioned), but not enough is preserved to yield any information concerning the hierophant or any other Eleusinian priesthood.

16. *Ἱεροφάντης*. *I.G.*, II², 1713; *Hesperia*, suppl. 8: p. 117, line 6. In office in 86/5.

Both inscriptions cited are lists of archons, in each of which the entry for 86/5 is *Hierophantes*, undoubtedly a hierophant whose name is concealed because of hieronymy, for *Hierophantes* does not exist as a proper name in Athens.¹²¹ He is the first hierophant known to have been an archon. Though his identity is unknown, he may be identical with Theophrastus son of Menecleides of Kudathenaion who was hierophant around the end of the second century (see above).

AROUND END OF FIRST CENTURY B.C.

A list of married men "selected by the hierophant to care for making the bed and setting the table for Pluto" (*I.G.*, II², 1935) was set up by a hierophant around the end of the first century before Christ.¹²² The lacunae at the beginnings of lines 1–3 would at first seem to imply that hieronymy was not observed, since the hierophant's name has the form: [Name (of ca. 7 letters), *Ἱερ*οφάντης, [Patronymic (of ca. 10 letters), Demotic (of ca. 7 letters)]. It is possible, however, that the hierophant was a Roman citizen, though none of the other men in the list are, and that in the first lacuna his gentilicium is inscribed, in which case there is no room for his original Greek name (cognomen) and so hieronymy would have been observed.

FIRST OR SECOND CENTURY B.C.

A hierophant whose name is not preserved appears in a dedication apparently of this period (*Ἀρχ. Ἱερ.* 1971: pp. 128–129, no. 23).

¹²⁰ *I.G.*, II², 1044, line 6.

¹²¹ Cf. S. Accame, *Il Dominio Romano in Grecia dalla Guerra Acaica ad Augusto* (Rome, 1946), p. 170.

¹²² The date is determined by the prosopography of the distinguished participants. *I.G.*, II², 1935 is duplicated in *I.G.*, II², 2464; they appear to be copies of the same inscription; cf. Oliver, *Hesperia* 11 (1942): p. 75. For similar lists see above, p. 20, note 65.

38/9

A dedication to Titus Statilius Lamprias, set up in Epidauros probably in the year 38/9,¹²³ states that he was a descendant of *ἱεροφαντικῶν καὶ δαδουχικῶν οἴκων*, and that his ancestors included priestesses of Athena and other priests.¹²⁴ A statue of him was set up in the Eleusinian courtyard near his ancestors.¹²⁵ Since a similar dedication set up in his honor by the Lacedaemonians emphasizes his daduchic but omits his hierophantic ancestry,¹²⁶ it would seem that the latter was rather distant.

17. *Ἱεροφάντης*. *I.G.*, II², 4479. In office around the middle of the first century after Christ.

In the archonship of Callicratides (40/1–53/4)¹²⁷ Euphrosynus the son of a hieronymous hierophant (*Εὐφρόσυνος Ἱεροφάντου*) was a *zakoros* in the cult of Asclepius and Hygeia situated at Eleusis (*I.G.*, II², 4479), at which time he dedicated a porch and *oikos* for the sanctuary of this cult. Because of hieronymy the name of his father, the hierophant, is unknown, but the inscription is significant in that it shows that at this time—and probably not just at this time—a priest of this local cult of Asclepius was drawn from a hierophantic family.

He was married at some time in his life.

FIRST CENTURY A.D.

The story recounted by Philostratus¹²⁸ about Apollonius of Tyana and the hierophant is included here, though we cannot be sure that it is not fictitious. The hierophant refused to allow Apollonius to be initiated: *ὁ δὲ ἱεροφάντης οὐκ ἐβούλετο παρέχειν τὰ ἱερά, μὴ γὰρ ἂν ποτε μῆσαι γόητα, μηδὲ τὴν Ἐλεῦσινά ἀνοῖξαι ἀνθρώπῳ μὴ καθαρῷ τὰ δαιμόνια*. Apollonius replied that although he knew more about the *telete* than the hierophant, he wished nevertheless to be initiated by a man wiser than himself. As this answer found favor among the bystanders, the hierophant was faced with the risk of losing support, so he changed his mind and offered initiation to him. But Apollonius replied: *μῆσομαι αὖθις, μῆσει δέ με ὁ δεῖνα*, and Philostratus adds: *προγνώσει χρώμενος ἐς τὸν μετ' ἐκείνον ἱεροφάντην, ὃς μετὰ τέτταρα ἔτη τοῦ ἱεροῦ προὔστη*.

18. *Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος Οἰνόφιλος Καλλικρατίδου Τρικορίσιος*. *I.G.*, II², 3546; 3548a, as restored by A. Wilhelm, *Wiener Anzeiger, phil.-hist. Klasse* 72 (1935): pp. 83–90 (cf. J. H. Oliver, *A.J.A.* 55 (1951):

¹²³ *I.G.*, IV², 82–4 (= *S.E.G.*, XI, 408a). For the date see Oliver, *Hesperia* 20 (1951): p. 351, n. 1.

¹²⁴ *I.G.*, IV², 84, lines 29–30.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, 83, lines 14–15, and 84, lines 35–36.

¹²⁶ *I.G.*, IV², 85–6 (= *S.E.G.*, XI, 409), lines 10–12; a new text of 86 is given by W. Peek, *Inscriptionen aus dem Asklepieion von Epidauros* (Berlin, 1969), pp. 29–31, no. 36.

¹²⁷ Cf. *I.G.*, II², 1974.

¹²⁸ *Life of Apollonius*, IV, 18.

pp. 347–348). Stemma: A. Raubitschek, *R.E.* 17 (1937): coll. 2253–2257. Woloch, 1966: Claudius no. 70. In office around the end of the first century.

The dedication *I.G.*, II², 3546 was set up in his honor while he was still alive, as is indicated by the fact that his cognomen Oenophilus is omitted and 'Ιεροφάντης is inserted in its place: Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος 'Ιεροφάντης Καλλικρατίδου Τρικορύσιος.¹²⁹ The inscription, dated by the eponymous priestess Flavia Laodameia (see below, priestess of Demeter and Kore no. 10) to the end of the first century, makes known that he had had a distinguished Roman and Athenian career. He had been a *praefectus fabrum* (ἐπαρχος ἀρχιτεκτόνων δήμου 'Ρωμαίων), which was a military office preparatory to an equestrian career, and *praefectus cohortis II Hispanorum*, which was an equestrian office.¹³⁰ It was undoubtedly during the reign of Nero that Roman citizenship was conferred on him.¹³¹ He was one of the first Athenians to become a member of the equestrian order.¹³² At Athens he served as archon (upon entering which office he distributed to each of the citizens a bushel of wheat and fifteen drachmas), herald of the Aeropagus, herald of the Boule and Demos (at which time he made a distribution of two denarii, probably to the members of the Boule and Demos), epimelete of the city, agonothete, gymnasiarch, hoplite general, and several times ambassador. There is no way of knowing from this dedication whether he held any of his Athenian offices while serving as hierophant.

His probable father and grandfather were also archons, and his known family seems to go back, through connections that are not in every case clear, to the fourth century before Christ,¹³³ comprising in almost every generation men who held public office.

In his will he adopted (i.e., by *adoptio testamentaria*) Calpurnia Arria, a Roman woman, the daughter of Asprenas Calpurnius Torquatus, legate of Galatia in 68/9, and the wife of Bellicus Tebanianus, consul in 87.¹³⁴

19. [Ἰού]λιος 'Ιεροφ[ά]νης. A. E. Raubitschek, *Hesperia* 35 (1966): p. 247, no. 8 (E.M. 3849); M. Mitsos, *Δελτίον* 25 (1970): p. 187, no. 6 (E.M.

3616, an additional fragment). Around the end of the first century?

The inscription, on a herm, is reproduced here with spacing slightly different from the above mentioned editions:

[Τ ΦΛ]αβ Πάντα[ινον]
[Γαργ]ήτιον *vacat*
[...]ΑΘΗΝΑΙΩΙΣ *vacat*
4 [. 'Ιού]λιος 'Ιεροφ[ά]νης
[. ^{ca.} 5 .] . ΤΟΝ Π[-----]

The restorations of lines 1–2 are Raubitschek's. At first I thought that lines 4–5 might be restored [Κλαύ]διος 'Ιεροφ[ά]νης [τόν ἀρι]στον π[ολιτευτήν], but an inspection of the stone showed that in line 4 a delta is impossible (though alpha is not ruled out), and that, while the trace of the first letter in line 5 is very uncertain, it is probably not part of sigma. Thus the name in line 4 is probably [. 'Ιού]λιος. Inspection also shows that the tau and eta of 'Ιεροφ[ά]νης, only the tops of which are preserved, were probably in ligature.¹³⁵ I doubt Raubitschek's suggestion for line 5, [ὁ φίλος αὐτο]ῦ τὸν π[άτρωνα], because of space and the fact that there is no other evidence that any of the hierophants ever had a *πάτρων*; many of them were in fact quite wealthy, and none of them are known not to have been.

It is conceivable that this hierophant is the same as hierophant no. 25, in which case one could regard Pantaenus as his grandfather (τόν π[άππον]). Otherwise, a date of around 100 A.D. for the inscription is given by the man honored, Flavius Pantaenus, who donated a library in the Agora around this time and became an Athenian citizen.¹³⁶

20. Τίτος Φλάβιος Στράτων. *I.G.*, II², 3984. Stemma: below, p. 31. In office around the end of the first quarter of the second century.

His name appears on a statue base among the ancestors of Titus Flavius Euthycomas son of Straton of Paiania, prytany *eponymos* in the year 166/7.¹³⁷ An inspection of this inscription shows that Graindor's text (reprinted by Kirchner, without subscript dots, as *I.G.*, II², 3984) should be slightly altered; a new text is given here.¹³⁸

¹²⁹ Raubitschek, *op. cit.*, col. 2254, apparently unaware of the custom of hieronymy, states that it is not known whether Oenophilus was alive at this time. Graindor (1922: p. 93) would date this inscription "closer to 69/70 than to 100."

¹³⁰ Cf. Woloch, *loc. cit.*

¹³¹ Because of his tribe; cf. Graindor, 1930: p. 10.

¹³² Cf. Woloch, *loc. cit.*

¹³³ See stemma of Raubitschek, *loc. cit.*, which is, however, in some parts very hypothetical. W. K. Pritchett (*Hesperia* 11 [1942]: p. 249, n. 63) commented that there is no satisfactory explanation for the change of deme of Callicratides (7) son of Syndromus from Steiria to Trikorinthos.

¹³⁴ See Oliver, *loc. cit.*

¹³⁵ Mitsos's restoration of [ἄρξαντα] in line 3 is impossible, as this verb takes the genitive. The masculine name at the beginning of line 4 rules against his reading *ιεροφ[ά]νης*. The name Pantaenus just fits the space at the end of line 1, as is clear in Mitsos's photograph; it should be noted that the right edge of this inscription is preserved.

¹³⁶ See A. W. Parsons, *Hesperia*, suppl. 8: pp. 268–272.

¹³⁷ *I.G.*, II², 1773, lines 8, 11; 2478; cf. Woloch, 1966: Flavius no. 29.

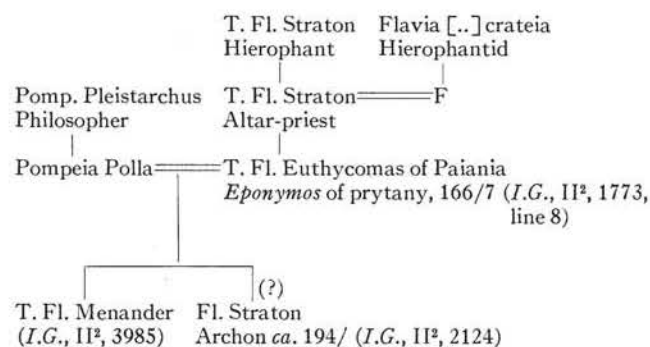
¹³⁸ Graindor, *Marbres et Textes* (Ghent, 1922), pp. 66–67, no. 5; he was not able to see the stone and had only Skias' publication of the fragments; hence he was not in a position to know the disposition of the letters. The first letter of the second line and the tau of line 14 have disappeared since the *editio princeps*.

- [κ]αθ' ὑπομνη[ματι]
 σμὸν τῆς ἐξ 'Α[ρείου]
 πάγου βουλῆς * [Τίτον]
 4 Φλάβιον Εὐθυκό[μαν]
 Παιανία * Τίτον [Φλαβίου]
 Στράτωνος ἐπὶ [β]ωμῶ
 [υἱό]ν * καὶ Τίτον [Φλ]αβίο[υ]
 8 [Στρ]άτωνος ἱεροφάντ[ου]
 [ἐγ]γονον * καὶ Φλαβίας
 [..]κρατείας ἱε[ρ]οφάντ[ιδος]
 [ἐγ]γονον * Πο[μ]πηία Πώ[λ]
 12 [λα] Πομπηίο[υ] Πλειστάρ[χου]
 [φιλο]σόφου [θυ]γάτηρ, τὸ[υ]
 [ἐαυ]τ[ῆς] ἀνδρά. 

The essential differences between this text and Graindor's are that all vacant spaces are noted; [Τίτον] is added in line 3; [τοῦ] is eliminated at the end of line 12 because of lack of space; and, for the same reason, [δος ἀπό] is changed to [ἐγ] at the beginning of line 11, with [δος] shifted to the end of line 10.

If [ἀπό]γονον were the correct restoration in line 11, we would have to understand [ἐγ]γονον in line 9 to mean "grandson." For, while ἐγγονος is frequently used as the equivalent of ἀπόγονος, "descendant," it also frequently means "grandson," and would definitely mean grandson if both ἀπόγονος and ἐγγονος occurred in the same inscription. But now that ἀπόγονος cannot be restored, we are free to interpret ἐγγονος as either grandson or descendant. If it means grandson, then the hierophant was the father of Straton the altar-priest, but since the altar-priesthood belonged to the Kerykes, we must then assume that Straton the altar-priest somehow succeeded in changing his *genos* from the Eumolpidae to the Kerykes. If it means descendant, then numerous possibilities open up, one of which is that Flavius Straton the hierophant was the maternal grandfather of the altar-priest, and so there is no need to assume a change of *genos* on the part of the latter; and the hierophantid could be placed either with the Kerykes' line or with the Eumolpid line of the family, without her *genos* being definitely known in either case. However, a new document just published by J. H. Oliver shows that the first alternative, that a change of *genos* took place, is not farfetched. The document is a letter of Marcus Aurelius, probably of the year 174/5, in which he makes known his decisions on various law cases appealed to him.¹³⁹ One decision (Plaque II, lines 7–15) concerns a man who tried to change his *genos* from the Eumolpidae to the Kerykes in order to qualify for the *hierokerykeia*; the part relevant to the present discussion reads as follows (lines 9–11): Μαμερτεῖνος μὲν

οὐ[ν], ἐπεὶ Εὐμολπίδης ὦν οὐδέτερον τ[ῶν] γονέων ἔσχεν ἐκ τοῦ τῶν Κηρύκων γένους, ἐπιθεῖται καθ' ὃνπερ μόνον ἐφεῖται τρόπον τοῖς ἐξ (ἐ)κατέρου τῶν [δύο] τούτων γενῶν πρὸς θάτερον μεθίστασθαι, ἀφέξεται τοῦ τῆς ἱεροκηρυκείας ἐφείεσθαι. Apparently therefore it was perfectly legitimate for a man to change his *genos* if one of his parents was of the *genos* into which he desired to transfer. Thus we would not be unreasonable in assuming such a transfer in the case of Straton the son of the hierophant and thereby understanding ἐγγονος to mean grandson. In fact, this is the normal progression in dedications of this type: son of . . ., grandson of . . ., etc. Accordingly, Flavius Euthycomas was also the grandson of the hierophantid Flavia [..]crateia, and the repetition of ἐγγονον seems to indicate that she was not his paternal grandmother, i.e., the wife of the hierophant, but his maternal grandmother. The following tentative stemma can be made:



According to this stemma Flavius Straton the hierophant will have been in office probably in the first quarter of the second century. And since Claudius Oenophilus probably died around the year 100 after having served several years, it is more likely that Straton came after him rather than before.

He was evidently not related to the illustrious family of the hierophant Flavius Leosthenes of Paiania (see below no. 24). In *I.G.*, II², 3592 members of this family are mentioned from as far back as the end of the first century, but no mention is made of a Straton; nor is the family of Leosthenes mentioned in the dedication in which Flavius Straton is mentioned.¹⁴⁰

21. Φίρμος Γαργήτιος. *I.G.*, II², 2341. Toepffer, 1889: p. 60. In office around the middle of the second century?

His name is inscribed on a round base at Eleusis, which reads:

¹⁴⁰ The name of Euthycomas's son, Menander, is interesting. His maternal grandfather, Pleistarchus, was a philosopher, and the name Menander is the same as that of Pantaenus's father, who was a *diadochos* of a philosophic school (cf. Parsons, *loc. cit.*), as well as the name of Pantaenus's son. Some connection either of family or of sentiment may exist.

¹³⁹ J. H. Oliver, *Marcus Aurelius, Aspects of Civic and Cultural Policy in the East, Hesperia*, suppl. 13 (1970): pp. 3–9.

Ἱεροφάντης Γαργήτιος
 ὁ ποτὲ Φίρμος
 οὗ Φίρμος
 οὗ Μουσώνιος ὁ καὶ Βουτάδιος.

Kirchner calls this inscription a *tabula genealogica*. The added mention of the hierophant's real name shows that the monument was erected after the hierophant's death, by his grandson and perhaps also by his son.

P. Firmus of Gargettos, *sophronistes* in 139/40 (*I.G.*, II², 2044, line 6), Firmus son of Firmus of Gargettos, *hyposophronistes* in 154/5 (*I.G.*, II², 2067, line 111), and Firmus son of Firmus of Gargettos, *ephebe* in 163/4 (*I.G.*, II², 2086, line 50), were probably related to hierophant.^{140a} Their common name, Firmus, is interesting. It is a Roman cognomen, but no gentilicium ever appears in their names, even through the *sophronistes* assumed the praenomen Publius. The family evidently never obtained Roman citizenship, although they were fond of using a Roman name, up to the very limit of the law. The name of the hierophant's grandson, Musonius, is in fact a Roman gentilicium, but as Woloch notes,¹⁴¹ "it was rather frequently used as a Greek personal name, not against the law."

22. Ἱεροφάντης Δ' Ἰο[ύ...] Πειραιεύς. *I.G.*, II², 3628. In office around the middle of the second century?

This dedication was set up in his honor by his wife Cornelia Ph[---]. Graindor¹⁴² dated it to the beginning of the second century and restored Δ' Ἰο[ύριον Πει]ραιέα. To Kirchner the lettering and a ligature were indicative of a date in the second half of the century, and he considered the hierophant Julius (no. 25) as a possible restoration. If his date is correct, Julius would in fact be the correct restoration, as our list of hierophants for this period shows. Woloch,¹⁴³ however, favors Graindor's restoration, pointing out that the praenomen Decimus is not found with Julius.

The dedication was erected during his lifetime, as the use of hieronymy shows. He was married while he was a hierophant, if [ἄνδρα] is the correct restoration.

23. Ἱεροφάντης Ἀγνούσιος. E. Vanderpool, *A.J.A.* 64 (1960): p. 268, pl. 73, fig. 17 (cf. L. Robert, *R.E.G.* 74 [1961]: p. 151, no. 267). In office around 138–150.

The inscription beneath a very interesting relief (*A. J. A.*, *loc. cit.*) found near the Olympieion reads:

^{140a} One of them may be the same person as the Firmus son of Firmus of Gargettos who made a dedication to Asclepius Amphiaraus (*I.G.*, II², 4441).

¹⁴¹ Woloch, 1966: s.v. Musonius.

¹⁴² 1931: p. 104.

¹⁴³ *Op. cit.*, Junius no. 4.

Θεσμοφόροις Θεαῖς Ἀγνούσιος Ἱεροφάντης. The name is the hieronymous form of the name of a hierophant from Hagnous, with the demotic placed *metri causa* in front of Ἱεροφάντης instead of after it. In the relief are represented on the left Demeter and Kore, in a classicizing style, and on the right the hierophant from Hagnous (fig. 3), in a portrait style, which E. Harrison characterizes as early Antonine.¹⁴⁴ Concerning the finding place of the relief Vanderpool writes¹⁴⁵: "It was found lying face down in the area of one of the houses (illustration I). There is no trace of a sanctuary of Demeter and Kore in the neighborhood, and so we may guess that although the relief had been made to [the hierophant's] order and perhaps delivered to his house, it was for some reason never actually dedicated in the sanctuary."

Unfortunately the hierophant from Hagnous cannot be identified, and so his date of office cannot be approximated more closely than E. Harrison's stylistic date of "early Antonine." But this date agrees well with what we know otherwise about the hierophants of the second half of this century: there is no place for the hierophant from Hagnous in the list of hierophants of the second century except before the latter part of the reign of Antoninus Pius.

This relief is the only certain Attic representation of a hierophant, and as such it assumes great importance. It has not yet been formally published, and the description given below, which was made from an inspection of the relief, is not intended to be such. However, before describing the relief, it will be convenient to list here the literary and epigraphical testimonia for the costume of the hierophant and daduch.

LITERARY AND EPIGRAPHICAL EVIDENCE FOR THE COSTUME OF THE HIEROPHANT AND DADUCH¹⁴⁶

Garment: That of the hierophant and daduch is called *στολή* in Athenaeus, I, 21e: καὶ Δισχύλος δὲ οὐ μόνον ἐξεῦρε τὴν τῆς στολῆς εὐπρέπειαν καὶ σεμνότητα, ἣν ζηλώσαντες οἱ ἱεροφάνται καὶ δαδούχοι ἀμφιέννυνται. That of the hierophant alone is called *στολή* in Plutarch, Alcibiades, 22, 4 and Pseudo-Lysias, *Against Andocides*, 51, ἐσθῆς in Arrian, *Discourses of Epictetus*, III, 21, 16; that of the daduch alone, *ιερά στολή* in a scholion to Aristophanes, *Clouds*, line 64 and *σκενή* in Andocides, *On the Mysteries*, 112. These references tell us no more than that their garments were something out of the ordinary.¹⁴⁷ However, in Pseudo-Lysias, *Against Andocides*, 51 the cursing of Andocides is described as follows: *ἱέραι*

¹⁴⁴ *Archaic and Archaistic Sculpture, The Athenian Agora* 11: p. 95.

¹⁴⁵ *Loc. cit.*

¹⁴⁶ A partial list for the hierophant was compiled by G. E. Rizzo, *Röm. Mitt.* 25 (1910): pp. 156–158.

¹⁴⁷ This is especially clear in regard to the daduch's garment depicted on a fifth century base: see below, p. 48.

καὶ ἱερεῖς στάντες κατηράσαντο πρὸς ἐσπέραν καὶ φοινικίδας ἀνέσεισαν, κατὰ τὸ νόμιμον τὸ παλαιὸν καὶ ἀρχαῖον. The priests and priestesses in question are almost certainly the Eleusinian ones, cursing Andocides for his offense against the Mysteries as they cursed Alcibiades¹⁴⁸; the φοινικίδας would appear to be their red or purple cloaks.¹⁴⁹

Hair and headgear: Arrian, *loc. cit.*, mentions the στρόφιον and κομή as characteristic of the hierophant; Plutarch, *Aristides*, 5, 6–7 says essentially the same in regard to the fifth-century daduch Callias (see below, daduch no. 2); Theon of Smyrna, *On the Utility of Mathematics*, p. 15 (ed. Hiller), describing the investiture of priests as a fourth stage of participation in the Mysteries, states: τετάρτη δέ, ὃ δὴ καὶ τέλος τῆς ἐποπτείας, ἀνάδεις καὶ στεμμάτων ἐπίθεσις, ὥστε καὶ ἐτέροις, ὥς τις παρέλαβε τελετάς, παραδοῦναι δύνασθαι, δαδουχίας τυχόντα ἢ ἱεροφαντίας ἢ τινος ἄλλης ἱερωσύνης. The essential part of the investiture was therefore the binding and laying on of the στέμματα, by which is probably meant the στρόφιον (and perhaps also a myrtle wreath in the case of the hierophant and daduch and some of the other priests, and perhaps only a wreath in the case of others). This part of the investiture is referred to in *I.G.*, II², 3592, line 21: τὸ στρόφιον παρὰ τῷ αὐτοκράτορι θεῷ Ἀντωνείνῳ λαβόντα.¹⁵⁰ Thus it is clear that the στρόφιον was the most significant element of the costume of the hierophant and daduch. It was a twisted piece of cloth; but its sacerdotal use was not limited to the hierophant and daduch (and other priests) of Eleusis.¹⁵¹ A myrtle crown was also customarily worn by the hierophant, the daduch, and the other priests and priestesses of the cult, as is attested by *I.G.*, II², 1235, lines 14–15 (for the hierophant)¹⁵² and a fragment of Ister of Cyrene, *F. Gr. Hist.*, 334, F29: καὶ τὸν ἱεροφάντην δὲ καὶ τὰς ἱεροφάντιδας καὶ τὸν δαιδουχὸν καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἱερείας μυρρίνης ἔχειν στέφανον.

¹⁴⁸ See above, pp. 15–16.

¹⁴⁹ For the term φοινικίς cf. *L.S.J.*, s.v. Pollux, IV, 116, p. 235, line 7 (ed. Bethe) mentions the φοινικίς in a list of stage garments; cf. Pickard-Cambridge, *The Dramatic Festivals of Athens* (Oxford, 1968), p. 203. It is not clear whether the ἡμεροκαλλές, a purple cloth, is the same thing or some kind of fillet; there is a description of it by an Eleusinian priest (see below, p. 96) in the *Etymologicum Magnum*, p. 429, s.v.: ἡμεροκαλλές . . . φοινικῶν ἔριον διαπεποικιλμένον, ᾧ χρῶνται πρὸς τὰς ἱερουργίας Ἀθήνησιν, ὡς Θεόδωρος ὁ παναγῆς προσαγορευόμενος ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ περὶ Κηρύκων γένους. λέγει δὲ ὅτι καλεῖται ἡμεροκαλλές διὰ τὸ πεπλίσθαι καὶ βεβάρηθαι ἐν μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ.

¹⁵⁰ See the discussion below, pp. 37–38.

¹⁵¹ For references to the στρόφιον in other cults see H. Seyrig, *B.C.H.* 41 (1927): pp. 226–227; also L. Robert, *Hellenica* 11–12 (1960): p. 452 (and pl. xxviii) for representations of them in a relief on a dedication from Didyma, and *ibid.*, p. 597, on a stele deriving from an association of *mystai* of Dionysus Kallon from Rhegion on the north shore of the Sea of Marmora. For the στρόφιον in some other cults of Asia Minor, see below, note 168. H. P. L'Orange, *Studien zur Geschichte des spätantiken Porträts* (Oslo, 1933), p. 110, no. 11, gives references to the στρόφιον on portraits in Corinth, Dresden, Athens, and Brussels.

¹⁵² See above, p. 23.

The passage from Epictetus's *Discourses* cited above mentions that the hierophant had a κομή, i.e., wore his hair long. But this was a characteristic of many other priests as well. The priests who greeted Herodes Atticus on his return from exile are described in an epigram (*I.G.*, II², 3606, line 13) as: ἱρῆας μὲν πρῶτα θεῶν κομώντας ἐθείραις.

SCULPTURAL REPRESENTATION OF THE HIEROPHANT

In the relief (fig. 3) of the hierophant from Hagnous (above, no. 23) he is clothed in a mantle which is draped about him in such a way that almost his entire body from his neck to the top of his boots is covered; it is a much simpler garment than that worn by the daduch in a fifth-century vase painting.¹⁵³ Interestingly, his boots are not the high-soled type worn by actors of tragedy at this time; thus the statement in Athenaeus (see above) that the garment of the hierophant and the daduch resembled that of the stage is probably to be understood strictly as applying only to the garment.¹⁵⁴ On his head he wears a στρόφιον and above it a wreath, certainly of (the hierophant's traditional) myrtle. He has long hair, the κομή but not the κρωβύλος, a hair-style that has frequently been attributed to the hierophant by modern scholars on the basis of non-Attic works of art.¹⁵⁵ He holds a staff in his right hand, and in his left a bunch of tiny objects or perhaps only the folds of his cloak.

With this certain representation of an Eleusinian hierophant we now fortunately possess a criterion for identifying other Attic sculptures which might represent hierophants. Some possibilities are the following.

I. Portrait of a head of the period of Gallienus, found in the Agora.¹⁵⁶ "On his head is a rolled fillet or strophion, above which he wears a wreath. The leaves are too poorly preserved to be identified as to kind."¹⁵⁷ The back of the head is not preserved. Harrison believes that this head is a replica of the following head.

II. Portrait of a head of the period of Gallienus, now in the museum at Eleusis.¹⁵⁸ Unlike I, which according to Harrison is its replica, II has no wreath above the strophion. Concerning the latter L'Orange

¹⁵³ See below, pp. 48.

¹⁵⁴ The similarity may have been only magnificence; the connection with Aeschylus, his deme; see Pickard-Cambridge, *The Dramatic Festivals of Athens*², revised by J. Gould and D. M. Lewis (Oxford, 1968), pp. 200–201; on footwear in tragedy, *ibid.*, pp. 204–208.

¹⁵⁵ Pringsheim, 1905: p. 13; Mylonas, *Eleusis*, p. 232; G. Rizzo "Il costume e il tipo artistico dello hierofante," *Röm. Mitt.* 25 (1910): pp. 156–167.

¹⁵⁶ E. Harrison, 1953: pp. 63–64, no. 49, pl. 31. It has since been stolen from the Agora Museum.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 63–64, pl. 46e; H. P. L'Orange, *Studien zur Geschichte des spätantiken Porträts*, pp. 41–42, pls. 108–109.



FIG. 3. Hierophant no. 23. Courtesy of John Travlos.

writes:¹⁵⁹ "Um den Kopf eine wulsartige Binde, die, hinten geknotet, in zwei losen Enden über den Nacken herabfällt." His hair is long, though not as long as that of the hierophant from Hagnous.

III. Colossal portrait head from the period of

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 124, no. 58.

Gallienus, now in the National Museum in Athens.¹⁶⁰ The man is wearing a *strophion* but no wreath. His hair is long.

Harrison points out a striking physical similarity between this head and the head of a boy found in the Agora, a *παῖς ἀφ' ἐστίας*, and believes that the persons portrayed were related.¹⁶¹

IV. Portrait head of a herm from the same period, now in the National Museum in Athens.¹⁶² It is very similar to III, differing from it only in having a feature of I, a *strophion* surmounted by a wreath of formalized leaves. The hair is about as long as that of II. Two wide bands flow down from the *strophion* in back. A cloak covers both shoulders, the left shoulder fully, the right slightly less.

V. Portrait head of a priest, found in the Agora, of the Antonine period.¹⁶³ His hair is long and shaggy. The following are two excerpts from Harrison's description:

The features bear a certain resemblance to those of Antoninus Pius, and the cut of the hair and beard looks like a more unkempt and shaggier version of his mode. At the same time there is a faint reminiscence of certain Hellenistic portraits, especially that of Demosthenes.¹⁶⁴ The head is encircled by a rolled fillet, tied in back and with the ends hanging down. Above the fillet is a shallow channel about 1½ cm. wide all around, as though some additional wreath or ornament were to be fastened around the head here, but there are no holes for the attachment of metal, and the nature of the addition remains a mystery.¹⁶⁵

She suggests that the subject may be a man of letters, or if the groove above the *strophion* was made for a wreath, a priest of the same office as I. I think that the similarity to the combination of *strophion* and wreath is such as to leave no doubt that this man was a priest like I, and that a wreath was indeed inserted, somehow, in the channel.

VI. Portrait head of a priest, found in the Theater of Dionysus in Athens, of the Antonine period.¹⁶⁶ His hair is quite shaggy and he wears a wreath of small leaves above a *strophion*.

Harrison interpreted I-IV as imperial high-priests on the basis of a suggestion of H. Ingholt that the combination of *strophion* and wreath is in Athens the insignia of the high-priest of the imperial cult.¹⁶⁷ Harrison accordingly explained the difference in head-

¹⁶⁰ Harrison, *op. cit.*, p. 61; L'Orange, *op. cit.*, no. 11, plates 26-27.

¹⁶¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 61, no. 46. Her other reasons for connecting the two are not cogent (*op. cit.*, p. 61, n. 2). The hearth-initiates were not necessarily offspring of Eleusinian priestly families, though many were. Thus it would not be surprising for a hearth-initiate to be the son of a hierophant but the connection is not a necessary one.

¹⁶² L'Orange, *op. cit.*, no. 12, pls. 25 and 29.

¹⁶³ Harrison, *op. cit.*, p. 41, no. 29, pl. 18.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁶ It was pointed out by Harrison, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

¹⁶⁷ This was to be elaborated by Ingholt in an article "soon to appear," which apparently has not appeared.

gear between I and II as due to the fact that the same man was wearing, in the portrait at Eleusis, the insignia of his Eleusinian priesthood, viz. the *strophion*, and in the portrait in the Agora, the insignia of the high-priest, viz. *strophion* and wreath. This is clearly untenable in light of the literary and epigraphical testimonia cited above and the portrait of the hierophant from Hagnous (no. 23), where both the *strophion* and wreath are worn. The absence of the wreath in II can be ascribed simply to the fact that the myrtle wreath, as it seems, was not the essential part of the hierophant and daduch's costume and so did not always have to be worn. Even so, it is impossible to say whether the man represented in I and II was a hierophant or daduch or some other priest of the Mysteries or a priest of some other cult (the fact that it was found at Eleusis is no certain proof that he was a priest of the Mysteries). The same applies to III-VI: one can be reasonably certain that they are priests, but not of their type. The headgear of the imperial high-priest at Athens, if it was different from that of other priests, remains an unsolved problem.¹⁶⁸

MIDDLE OF SECOND CENTURY

Hierophants are mentioned, perhaps as relatives, in a dedication (*I.G.*, II², 3966a) dated by Kirchner to the middle of the second century; the dedicator is Antonius Cornelianus, but the names of the hierophants, if they were given, are not preserved.¹⁶⁹

THE ELEUSINIAN ENDOWMENT

The hierophant was one of many priests, both of the Eleusinian cult and of other Athenian cults, who are recorded on a stele erected at Eleusis around 160-170 A.D. (*I.G.*, II², 1092),¹⁷⁰ as recipients of a share of an endowment. The nature of this document, as Oliver suggests, is not the establishment of the endowment

but rather a ruling by the Areopagus which "concerns a detail for which the diataxis, the deed establishing in perpetuity the use of the endowment, did not provide specifically."¹⁷¹ A surplus had evidently accrued, and here the Areopagus decided how it was to be distributed. Oliver suggests¹⁷²:

The increased income was to be used for increasing the number of recipients by including among the beneficiaries other persons of distinction who are precisely identified in the appended list The individual portion was to be twelve unworn [Attic drachmae] (line 15).

The distribution took place probably at Eleusis in connection with the festival of the Mysteries. At this time the members of the Boule, who had been recipients even before this enlargement of the recipients' number, were now to receive an individual portion of twelve drachmas; and the priests and other officials in the appended list either this amount or double this amount (according to the notation ἀπλῇ or διπλῇ written after each title.) All the priesthoods that are preserved were to receive a double share; the only preserved single share went to the only non-sacerdotal official on the list, the archon of the Eumolpidae.¹⁷³

In the list the hierophant and the daduch are at the very top, undoubtedly because the endowment was connected with the Eleusinian sanctuary and they were its two foremost priests. Of course, as an administrative matter of the Eleusinian sanctuary, the endowment would naturally have come under their jurisdiction since they were also the highest ranking administrators of the sanctuary; thus we find in the main body of this document that they are charged with its supervision (and they too probably were in charge of its actual distribution). However, it was probably not because of their administrative status that they have such a prominent position in the list of priests but because of their overall importance and prestige in the Eleusinian cult, just as in the *aeisitoi* lists of this period it was surely prestige which determined that the hierophant always appeared first and the daduch (usually) second (see append. IV).

How the order of recipients after the hierophant and daduch was determined is not immediately clear. The order is as follows: the high-priest, a single exegete, three exegetes together, the sacred herald, the altar-priest; then a group of priestesses: the priestess of Athena, the priestess of Demeter and Kore, and the two hierophantids. This concludes the list's first column, which contains, in addition to the most important Eleusinian, some of the most important Athenian priesthoods. The second column consists of minor priesthoods of Eleusis and Athens, with the

¹⁶⁸ In representations of the imperial high-priest in Asia Minor the *strophion* has been described as having attached to it a bust of the emperor whom the high-priest was serving as well as busts of other members of the imperial family. Portraits of several priests wearing this kind of *strophion* are included in J. Inan and E. Rosenbaum, *Roman and Early Byzantine Portrait Sculpture in Asia Minor* (London, 1966); they discuss the problem of identification in connection with no. 143, p. 124, n. 2. Having examined the busts on these *strophia*, they are not convinced that any known example clearly represents an imperial personage, and in some cases the busts certainly represent deities which the priests served; thus they do not exclude the possibility that high-priests wore such a *strophion* but point out that the evidence for it is insufficient. To their information should be added L. Robert's bibliography and examples, *Hellenica*, 11-12 (1960): p. 451, n. 4; he calls attention to an interesting Hadrianic portrait in the National Museum in Athens of a man wearing an oak wreath to which is attached in front a disc μετὰ συμβολικῶν παραστάσεων (perhaps two crossed thyrsos), 'Αρχ. 'Εφ. 1939-1941, 'Αρχ. Χρονικά: p. 12, no. 44, fig. 19.

¹⁶⁹ I can make out on my squeeze a sigma after καί in line 8.

¹⁷⁰ A new edition with commentary is given by J. H. Oliver, *Hesperia* 21 (1952): pp. 381-399.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 387.

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 386.

¹⁷³ The share of the hearth-initiates, who are quasi-sacred officials, is not preserved.

notable exception of the priest of Zeus.¹⁷⁴ Only the first two entries of the third column are preserved, the archon of the Eumolpidae and the hearth-initiates.

Oliver's analysis of this list by groups of priesthoods and his suggestion that they all had some role during the season of the Mysteries tempts me to the hypothesis that the list reflected the contemporary arrangement of priests and priestesses as they marched in the great procession of the Mysteries. The grouping may reflect priests walking together, in groups or side by side in two's or three's: at the head of the procession, side by side, the hierophant and the daduch, then the high priest and the pythochrestus exegete,¹⁷⁵ then the three exegetes (of the Eumolpidae)¹⁷⁶ and after them the sacred herald and the altar-priest. At this point the section of priestesses begins. They were led off by the most important priestess of Athens and the most important priestess of Eleusis, the priestess of Athena and the priestess of Demeter and Kore, walking perhaps side by side, symbolizing the ancient unity between the cult of Eleusis and the cult of Athens. Behind them were the two hierophantids, then two lesser priestesses, the priestess of Kal[---]¹⁷⁷ and the priestess of the Fates. After them came the *phaedyntes* and the priest of Zeus, and then the lesser Eleusinian priests of the second column.

The secondary position of the priestesses is understandable when we consider that in the marble seats of the first row of the prohedria in the theater of Dionysus only the names of priests are inscribed¹⁷⁷; priestesses received seats farther back.¹⁷⁸ The first seven priests in the endowment list all have seats of especially great honor in the prohedria of the theater.¹⁷⁹ A seat for the next priest in the endowment, the altar-priest, is not preserved in the theater, but it is quite possible that it existed.¹⁸⁰

The inclusion of non-Eleusinian priesthoods in the endowment list (and perhaps therefore also in the procession) was evidently based on ties their cults had

with the Eleusinian cult, ties of which we are otherwise ill informed.

24. Τίτος Φλάβιος (Λεωσθένης) Τι Φλαβίου Ἀλκιβιάδου Παιανιεύς. *I.G.*, II², 1773; 1774; 3592 (new fragment in *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.* 1971: pp. 115–116, no. 8). Woloch, 1966: Flavius no. 41. G. Giannelli, "I Romani ad Eleusi," *Atti della R. Accademia delle Scienze di Torino* 50 (1914–1915): pp. 371–380. Stemma: Graindor, 1934: p. 134, and see below, note 183. In office from sometime in the reign of Antoninus Pius (138–161) to 167/8.

Our principal source of information for this man is a lengthy dedication set up in his honor by the Areopagus, Boule, and Demos sometime between 162 and 169. Before mentioning his praiseworthy accomplishments as hierophant, it lists all civic offices he held, as well as all civic offices held by his father, grandfather, and brother; also briefly mentioned are his wife and some of her relatives. He held these offices: archon (but apparently not eponymous archon),¹⁸¹ panygiarch, gymnasiarch "at his own expense with bowls,"¹⁸² and twice ambassador to Rome in the reign of Antoninus Pius. He did not attain, at least by this time, the office of hoplite general or herald of the Areopagus, the two most important offices in Athens at this time, as had his father and grandfather.¹⁸³ We

¹⁸¹ Cf. Kirchner, *I. G.*, II², 3592; Geagan, 1967: p. 8.

¹⁸² Geagan (1967: pp. 128–132) discusses the gymnasiarch at Athens. It would be interesting to know whether the gymnasiarch "with bowls" differed from the ordinary gymnasiarch. The gymnasiarch "with bowls" is attested at Athens also in *I.G.*, II², 1945, line 2 (45/6 A.D.). J. and L. Robert, *Hellenica* 6 (1948): pp. 127–130, discuss many texts in which *ὀλκεία* appear in connection with the gymnasiarchy; they were the vessels from which the distribution of oil was made (which was the gymnasiarch's main responsibility). For further bibliography see L. Robert, *Hellenica* 11–12 (1960): p. 599, note 4; J. Robert is preparing a study concerning the oil used in the gymnasium and in the city.

¹⁸³ For this reason Kirchner's identification of him with the Flavius Leosthenes, son of Flavius Alcibiades, honored in *I.G.*, II², 3591 is incorrect. A solution cannot be found by dating *I.G.*, II², 3591 later than 3592 because the dedicatee of 3591 is not called hierophant (with appropriate hieronymy); this was correctly recognized by Graindor (1934: p. 134), who interpreted this dedicatee as the grandfather of the hierophant. Kirchner's error was also recognized by E. Kapetanopoulos ("Flavius Hierophantes Paianieus and Lucius Versus," *R.E.G.* 83 [1970]: p. 65), but his stemma of this family is largely erroneous because of his denial of the traditional restoration (by Skias) of the hierophant's father as Alcibiades, which is proved to be true by the new fragment published in *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.* 1971, *loc. cit.* Thus we are left to choose, basically, between the stemmata of Kirchner and Graindor. Both are possible but Graindor's is preferable since Kirchner has to assume the adoption of Eisdora for which there is no evidence. Graindor's stemma reveals that the great-grandfather of the hierophant, Flavius Alcibiades, probably was the first member of the family to receive Roman citizenship under the Flavians; this is chronologically possible since his son was archon around the end of the first century. In regard to the dedicatee of *I.G.*, II², 3591, Flavius Leosthenes, it is probably best to regard him, with Graindor, as the hierophant's grandfather. Kapetanopoulos rightly points out the difficulties in taking the

¹⁷⁴ In the theater of Dionysus he is much more prominent: two priests of Zeus sit in the center of the prohedria (*I.G.*, II², 5024–5025).

¹⁷⁵ For the identification of this single exegete as the pythochrestus see Oliver, *Expounders*, p. 42. His seat in the theater of Dionysus, right next to the priest of Dionysus, demonstrates his importance.

¹⁷⁶ For the identification see below, pp. 89–90.

¹⁷⁷ My squeeze reads Καλ[---]. We perhaps ought to restore Καλ[Λεγενης] or an abbreviation of it, the goddess associated with Demeter and Kore in the Thesmophoria; see Aristophanes, *Thesm.*, 296.

¹⁷⁸ On the prohedria see Appendix III. The priestesses' seats are among those that bear the inscriptions *I.G.*, II², 5083–5164.

¹⁷⁹ Cf. Oliver, *Expounders*, pp. 41–42 and appendix III below. It would seem that the hierophant was the most prestigious of all Athenian priests around this time. Plutarch (*Numa*, 9, 8) says that the position of the Pontifex Maximus was equivalent to the *πάρις* of the hierophant. Dio Chrysostom (XXXI, 121, ed. Arnim) refers to the priests who sit in the prohedria of the theater of Dionysus as "the hierophant and the other priests."

¹⁸⁰ See append. III.

do not know whether any of these offices were undertaken while he was hierophant. Certainly the embassies to Rome could have been and may well have had something to do with his connection with Antoninus Pius, which is discussed below. Any or all of his other civic offices, which were mainly financial in character,¹⁸⁴ could also have been undertaken simultaneously with the *hierophanteia*.

The most interesting part of the inscription set up in his honor is lines 21–26. For the convenience of the discussion below, a translation of this passage is given here:

He received the *strophion* in the presence of the Deified Antoninus (Pius) and initiated the emperor Lucius Aurelius Verus while holding the Mysteries—quite legitimately—twice in one year, and he installed the latter as a Eumolpid, having combined also in this matter, when we had the benefit of his services also as the proposer (of Verus's adlection), propriety with reverence for the gods and great virtue.

The mention of Lucius Verus, not yet called *θεός* (*divus*), demands that the inscription be dated between the time of his initiation at Eleusis and his death in 169. Two dates are possible for his visit to Athens (and initiation): 162, on his way to the war in the East, or 166, on his way back to Rome. Of these 162 is the preferable one, as Giannelli first proposed.¹⁸⁵ For during his return in 166 his army caught the plague in Seleucia and were spreading it through every province they passed; under these circumstances it is unlikely that Verus would have made a leisurely stop at Athens to be initiated into the Mysteries.¹⁸⁶ But in 162 he is known to have made a visit to Athens in the course of his slow journey to the East during which he tarried at many cities in Greece and Asia Minor, thoroughly enjoying the festivities each had

to offer.¹⁸⁷ This year is accordingly the preferable date for his initiation, and so our inscription belongs between 162 and 169.

On the initiative of this hierophant, the initiation of Lucius Verus, like the initiation of Demetrius Poliorcetes and probably also that of Augustus,¹⁸⁸ took place during a time of the year other than the usual one for the Mysteries. And so the composer of *I.G.*, II², 3592 added a note of explanation, a discreet apology: *καὶ τοῦτο κατὰ τὸ θεμιτόν* (he could not say *κατὰ τὰ πάτρια*). In the dedication to the altar-priest Memmius (*I.G.*, II², 3620), which mentions that he too initiated Lucius Verus, nothing is said about having held the Mysteries twice in one year, so that we may assume that this was done mainly on the initiative of the hierophant. And if our interpretation of the end of *I.G.*, II², 3592 is correct, the efforts of the hierophant were largely responsible for Lucius Verus's adlection into the *genos* of the Eumolpidae. After he was adlected, the hierophant, whose customary task it was to install adlected members, then also installed Lucius Verus as a Eumolpid.¹⁸⁹

This hierophant had the unusual distinction of being installed in his own priesthood (i.e., of receiving the emblem of his office, the *strophion*) *παρὰ τῷ αὐτοκράτορι θεῷ Ἀντωνίνῳ*. The preposition *παρὰ* with the dative indicates that it was "in the presence of the emperor," not "from him." Consequently, this passage is not proof that Antoninus Pius came to Athens, as Giannelli insisted.¹⁹⁰ Moreover, the other evidence proposed by Giannelli¹⁹¹ in order to prove that Antoninus Pius

Flavius Alcibiades, son of Flavius Alcibiades, honored in *I.G.*, II², 3593, as the brother of the hierophant; if this dedication was made after *I.G.*, II², 3592, it is odd that no mention is made of the fact that the man had been panegyriarch and herald of the Areopagus. I do not believe such an omission to be impossible, however, especially if the man for some reason had to interrupt full participation in political life for a period of thirty years. He may also have been *prytanis* in 162/3 (*I.G.*, II², 1772, line 5). This *prytanis* was identified by Kirchner and Kapetanopoulos with the Flavius Alcibiades who was ephebe in 155/6 (*I.G.*, II², 2068, line 197), somewhat improbably, for there is no evidence to my knowledge that *prytaneis* were allowed to be younger than thirty years at this time. This ephebe and Flavius Leosthenes, who appears just before him in the same inscription, were perhaps brothers and were probably sons of the hierophant or his brother. It is not certain whether Flavius Heracleitus of Paiania, *prytanis* in 162 (*I.G.*, II², 1772, line 9) belongs to the same family; if he did (as Kapetanopoulos believes), perhaps he was a son of the hierophant. There can be no certainty at present concerning *I.G.*, II², 3648: *ιεροφάντης*, *λεωσθένης*, and *Ἀλκιβιάδης* are equally possible as restorations in line 3.

¹⁸⁴ Cf. Geagan, 1967: pp. 17, 128–132, 136.

¹⁸⁵ Giannelli, *op. cit.*, pp. 377–381.

¹⁸⁶ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae, Vita Veri*, 8, 1. On the plague cf. J. Gilliam, *A.J.P.* 82 (1961): pp. 225–251.

¹⁸⁷ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae, Vita Veri*, 6, 9: Nam cum interfecto legato, caesis legationibus, Syris defectionem cogitantibus oriens vastaretur, ille in Apul[e]ia venabatur et apud Corinthum et Athenas inter symfonias et cantica navigabat et per singulas maritimas civitates Asiae, Pamphyliæ, Ciliciaeque clariores voluptatibus immorabatur. For a reevaluation of the importance of the *Vita Veri* as an historical source see T. D. Barnes, "Hadrian and Lucius Verus," *J. R. S.* 57 (1967): pp. 65–79, who cites all the evidence relating to this journey and holds that it was at this time (162) that the initiation took place.

¹⁸⁸ See Graindor, 1927: pp. 19–23.

¹⁸⁹ My interpretation is that the hierophant always did the installing, but did not always propose the adlection, which could be done by any Eumolpid; hence the necessity for the phrase *ἐπεὶ καὶ ἐπιλέγοντα εἶχομεν*. The precise sense of *ἐπιλέγειν* in this context is not attested elsewhere, but it could hardly have to do with anything but the adlection process. *προσιδρύνειν* is attested in the passive with the meaning "to be installed"; see *L.S.J.*, s.v.

¹⁹⁰ *Op. cit.*, 374–375.

¹⁹¹ Malalas, XI, 280–281, and Aelius Aristides, XLVII, 36, ed. Keil. For the passage in Malalas see the commentary of A. Schenk Graf von Stauffenberg, *Die Römische Kaisergeschichte bei Malalas* (Stuttgart, 1931), pp. 307–313. The passage in Aristides was shown to refer to Marcus Aurelius by W. Schmid, *Rheinisches Museum* 48 (1893): p. 57. Cf. W. Hüttel, *Antoninus Pius* (Prague, 1936) 1: p. 236, n. 24, and K.-H. Ziegler, *Die Beziehungen zwischen Rom und dem Partherreich* (Wiesbaden, 1964), p. 112.

This position is supported by Graindor, *Marbres et Textes*, p. 68, although his argument from the use of *παρὰ* does not by itself prove that it was held in Rome. He refers to the case of the

visited Athens is not substantial enough even to disprove the notice in *Scriptores Historiae Augustae, Vita Pii*, 7, 11 that Antoninus Pius never left Italy: "nec ullas expeditiones obiit, nisi quod ad agros suos profectus est et ad Campaniam dicens gravem esse provincialibus comitatum principis, etiam nimis parci." We must conclude that the hierophant received his *strophion* in the presence of the emperor in Rome, where he visited twice as ambassador.

We do not know why his investiture was held before the emperor. Perhaps just as Augustus once settled a case brought to him by Eleusinian priests (probably) concerning conflicting sacral rights¹⁹² and Marcus Aurelius ruled that a man was ineligible for the *hierokerykeia*,¹⁹³ the appointment of this hierophant was contested and held up until the contestants could go to Rome and have it settled by the emperor, the result being that Flavius Leosthenes was confirmed as hierophant and the Eumolpidae held the investiture ceremony then and there. In any case, for whatever reason, the *genos* installed this hierophant in Rome.

We do not know whether this hierophant was married; no children of his are attested with certainty (see note 183). Nor is there any reference to him after his death, i.e. with his full name preserved. Nonetheless, we can be reasonably sure that, as he was the son of an Alcibiades and grandson of a Leosthenes, and his (only known) brother was named Alcibiades, he was the eldest son and accordingly named Leosthenes.

A Flavius Hierophant, certainly this hierophant, appears twice in the *aeisitoi* lists. These are lists contained within the prytany lists of this period. The latter as Geagan notes,¹⁹⁴ first appear after the Hadrianic reforms, and contain, from the first, lists of *aeisitoi*, i.e. men fed in the Tholos at public expense.¹⁹⁵ The first *aeisitoi* lists sufficiently preserved to be of significance date to shortly before 165 A.D.¹⁹⁶ Notopoulos¹⁹⁷ and Oliver¹⁹⁸ have compiled chronological tables of *aeisitoi* derived from these lists with the purpose of dating more accurately the prytany lists which contain them. Oliver's table with some revisions is given in Appendix IV. Flavius appears as hierophant in the lists of 166/7 (*I.G.*, II², 1773) and the second prytany of 167/8 (*I.G.*, II², 1774). In

cosmete Tryphon who was crowned in Rome by Septimius Severus and Caracalla (*I.G.*, II², 2193).

Strong evidence against the initiation of Antoninus Pius can also be found in *I.G.*, II², 3620 (see discussion below, pp. 83-84).

¹⁹² Suetonius, *Augustus*, 93; cf. Graindor, 1927: pp. 23-25.

¹⁹³ Oliver, 1970: p. 4, lines 7-15.

¹⁹⁴ 1967: p. 116.

¹⁹⁵ S. Dow, *Prytaneis*, *Hesperia*, suppl. 1 (1937): pp. 22-24; cf. Geagan, 1967: pp. 103-112.

¹⁹⁶ If Notopoulos' date for *I.G.*, II² 1769, shortly before 165, is correct, this hierophant's nomen should be restored; for a discussion of this inscription and *I.G.*, II², 1768 see below, pp. 59-60 and append. IV.

¹⁹⁷ *Hesperia* 18 (1949): pp. 1-57, table 1.

¹⁹⁸ *H.Th.R.* 43 (1950): pp. 233-235.

168/9, in the eighth prytany, another hierophant, a Julius, was in office (*I.G.*, II², 1775). The change therefore took place sometime between the very end of 167 (the time of the second prytany) and the beginning of the summer of 169.

25. 'Ιούλιος 'Ιεροφάντης. In *aeisitoi* lists: *I.G.*, II², 1775 (168/9); 1776 (169/70); 1808 (170-172, or 174-176, or 187); 1782 (ca. 180)¹⁹⁹; 1794 (ca. 180); *Hesperia* 4 (1935): p. 49, no. 11 (182/3); *I.G.*, II², 1788 (187/8 or 174/5); 1798 (190/1); 1792 191/2 or 192/3). In dedications: *I.G.*, II², 3411; 3628 (?); 3639; G. Manganaro, *Annuario della Scuola Archeologica di Atene* 37-38 (1959-1960): pp. 421-427. (He is possibly the same person as hierophant no. 19.) In office from 168/9 to 191 or 192 (or slightly later). [See Addendum, p. 128.]

It is clear from the *aeisitoi* lists that this hierophant took office in 168 or the early part of 169 and left office in 191 or 192 or slightly later.²⁰⁰

Three dedicatory epigrams (*I.G.*, II², 3411; 3639; Manganaro, *loc. cit.*) mention the noble deeds of a hierophant in connection with an enemy attack on Eleusis. The attack has been identified with the invasion of the Costoboci in 170,²⁰¹ and the hierophant has been accordingly identified with the hieronymous Julius.

One of these epigrams is on a monument erected after the hierophant's death (*I.G.*, II², 3639, only partially preserved and now in Malta),²⁰² where the following noteworthy facts about him are recorded: he was well known for his wisdom and for his pleasing voice ("pouring forth the *ιμπερόεσσαν* voice of Eumolpus he displayed the *teletas* and the all-night *orgia* to the *mystai*"), and he acquitted himself well during the barbarian attack by saving, undefiled, "the rites of the unutterable secrets (*ἀρρήτων θέσμια*). In the second

¹⁹⁹ For a new reading see below, p. 79, note 25.

²⁰⁰ For the dates see Appendix IV, Oliver, *loc. cit.*, and Notopoulos, *loc. cit.* Oliver's date of 192 for *I.G.*, II², 1792 (*A.J.P.* 71 [1950]: pp. 175-176) cannot be supported by the theory that "the panegyriarch was expected to entertain the visitors who came to Eleusis every four years to the festival of the Mysteries in Boedromion," for the Mysteries were held annually; and he himself eliminated this theory in *Hesperia* 27 [1958]: p. 42, n. 8. The other evidence for the date is that it should be after 188/9 because of the hoplite general in that year and after *I.G.*, II², 1798 which has been plausibly assigned in the table of *aeisitoi* to 190/1 (see append. IV). And since 1792 was set up before the death of Commodus, its date therefore would seem to be Boedromion of 191 or 192.

This hierophant's name can be restored in the following *aeisitoi* lists which fall within his period: *Hesperia* 11 (1942): p. 50, no. 18 (168/9); *I.G.*, II², 1781 (169/70); 1795 (ca. 181); 1796 (186/7); 1797 (ca. 191).

²⁰¹ Premerstein, *Klio* 12 (1912): pp. 145-164; *R.E.*, 11, coll. 1505-1507; cf. I. Russu, "Les Costoboci," *Dacia*, nouvelle série 3 (1959): pp. 341-352, especially 349-351. On the date of Aristides' birth cf. C. A. Behr, *A.J.P.* 90 (1969): pp. 75-77, and Bowersock, 1969: p. 61, n. 3.

²⁰² It should be dated "post 191/2" instead of "ca. 170."

epigram, which is inscribed on a herm,²⁰³ the invasion is the main subject. It reads²⁰⁴:

Ἀρρήτων θησ[αυρόν ~~~~ ἐ]ς Ἀθήνας
 μυστικὸν Η[~~~ ἐν π]ολέμῳ στγγερῶι
 τοῦνεκα ταινία[ις ἀνέδησαν Κ]εκροπίδαι με
 καὶ θέσαν ἐν [τεμένει]ρος αἰετ[ε]λ[ε]τῆς.

It was probably erected shortly after the invasion, and it appears that his praiseworthy exploit during it was the saving of the *arrheta hiera* which were kept in the Anactoron, the "holy of holies" in the center of the Telesterion into which only the hierophant was allowed.²⁰⁵ He succeeded in getting the *hiera* safely to Athens before the Costobocs broke in. This too is the sense of the third epigram (*I.G.*, II², 3411), where he is described as the "*phantor* of the holy nights, who evading the unholy work of the Sarmatians (i.e. the Costobocs)²⁰⁶ saved the *orgia* and his life for his country." This confirms and supplements the information of the second epigram. He did not lead a defense of the sanctuary but took the saner and, as events proved, the more valuable course; he brought the *hiera* safely back to Athens as the Costobocs were hastening to attack. That a large part of the sanctuary, including the Telesterion, was destroyed by the attack is borne out by the Eleusinian Oration of Aelius Aristides and archaeological evidence. Had the hierophant attempted resistance he undoubtedly would have lost the *hiera* in addition to his life and the lives of others. This epigram also salutes him for his wisdom (*σοφίῃ κλεινόν*), and just before it breaks off, it mentions that he initiated *Ἀντωνίων*.

This Antoninus can be none other than Marcus Aurelius. The identification was opposed by Giannelli²⁰⁷ on the grounds that, although Marcus Aurelius is sometimes referred to in Eleusinian inscriptions as Antoninus, his initiation is always mentioned together with that of Commodus, who was initiated at the same time (176 A.D.),²⁰⁸ and therefore Antoninus must

refer to Antoninus Pius. However, it will be shown below on the clear evidence of an Eleusinian inscription (in connection with altar-priest no. 12) that Antoninus Pius was not initiated into the Eleusinian Mysteries, which confirms the evidence that we have already seen that he never left Italy.²⁰⁹ The answer to the question why only one emperor is mentioned here whereas in fact the hierophant Julius initiated both, and in other inscriptions (both in poetry and prose) they are always mentioned together, a question which Giannelli properly raised, may have something to do with the time at which the monument was erected. If like *I.G.*, II², 3639 it was erected after the hierophant's death, which occurred in this case in 191 or 192 or a little later,²¹⁰ it may well have been set up when the name of Commodus was already under *damnatio memoriae*.

He was eponymous archon in 191/2 or 192/3.²¹¹

26. Τιβ Κλαύδιος Ἀπολλινάριος Τιβ Κλαυδίου Ἀπολλοδώρου Ἀχαρνέως. *I.G.*, II², 1803; 2109; 3641. Toepffer, 1889: p. 58. In office from 191 or 192 (or slightly later) to 193/4 (or shortly before).

He is mentioned under the hieronymous form of his name, Κλαύδιος Ἱεροφάντης Ἀχαρνέως, as a *prytanis* in a prytany list (*I.G.*, II², 1803) which is dated by Notopoulos²¹² to 192/3 or 193/4. His full name occurs in the heading of an inscription on a herm (*I.G.*, II², 2109) of 194/5, which reads as follows²¹³:

4 [ὁ . . .].ητης
 Κλαύδιο[ς Πο]λύζηλος
 Ἀχαρνέ[ς στ]ρατηγῆσας
 τῆς π[ὸ]λεως, ἀδελφός
 8 εἰεροφ[άν]του Κλαυδίου Ἀπο-
 [λλ]ιναρ[ίου] Ἀχαρνέως.

The use of the full name of the hierophant signifies that he was dead by this time. Thus he was in office only a short time. His name is also preserved on a round statue base at Eleusis (*I.G.*, II², 3641), erected after his death, with the brief inscription *ιεροφάντης Ἀπολλινάριος*.

His father was Ti. Claudius Apoll[odorus],²¹⁴ and his grandfather was perhaps Polyzelus son of Apol-

²⁰³ Manganaro, *loc. cit.*

²⁰⁴ I was able to see the stone in the summer of 1969, and have added in this edition some subscript dots. Manganaro's π[ρ]ός in line 4 appears to be epigraphically impossible; enough of the stone is preserved so that the right vertical stroke of pi should show if it existed. Μητ[ρ]ός is possible but not attractive.

²⁰⁵ Aelian, *Varia Historia*, fragment 10.

²⁰⁶ Cf. Premerstein, *Klio* 12 (1912): p. 153.

²⁰⁷ *Atti della R. Accademia delle Scienze di Torino* 50 (1914-1915): pp. 371-380.

²⁰⁸ For the date see Giannelli, *loc. cit.*; Foucart, *Revue de Philologie* 1893: pp. 205-207.

On the initiation cf. *Scriptores Historiae Augustae, Vita Marci*, 27: init(i)alia Cereris adit ut se innocentem probaret et sacrarium solus ingressus est. Since only the hierophant was allowed to enter the Anactoron (see above, n. 205) this has been thought to mean that Marcus Aurelius was the only outsider ever allowed to visit the sacred Anactoron (Foucart, *op. cit.*, p. 207; Manganaro, *loc. cit.*). But what about Commodus? Did he wait outside? D. Magie (Loeb, 1921) translates *solus* as "unattended" and *sacrarium* as "sanctuary," which seems much preferable (although *sacrarium* could also mean the Telesterion in this case).

²⁰⁹ See above, p. 38.

²¹⁰ See above, n. 200.

²¹¹ *I.G.*, II², 1792, lines 3-4 (= *A.J.P.* 71 [1950]: p. 174); for the date see above, n. 200.

²¹² *Hesperia* 18 (1949): table I, facing p. 22; cf. J. S. Traill, *Hesperia* 40 (1971): pp. 323-324 and 41 (1972): p. 141.

²¹³ Dated by Notopoulos, 1949: p. 31. He restored [ὁ ἐξηγ]ητης in line 4, but no basis for this is available. I was able to see part of another letter before eta, probably part of a serif. It is too close to eta to be part of a gamma but could be part of mu, alpha, lambda, and other letters. On epigraphical grounds, therefore, [κοσ]μητης is preferable to [ἐξηγ]ητης.

²¹⁴ *I.G.*, II², 3748. However, Apoll[inarios] can also be restored, it seems.

Iodorus of Acharnae, who was ephebe around 110.²¹⁵ His brother Polyzelus was ephebic archon sometime after 160²¹⁶ and therefore was born sometime after 140. If Polyzelus was the first-born, his brother Apollinarius died at an age of less than fifty-five. This, however, is as uncertain as the name of their father.

27. Νούμιος Ἱεροφάντης Φαληρεὺς. *I.G.*, II², 1806 (194/5?); 1806a (195/6); 1790 (ca. 197); *Hesperia* 16 (1947): p. 180, no. 84. In office from 194/5 (or shortly before) to sometime before 209/10.

He was the successor of Claudius Apollinarius, and since the latter was dead in 194/5, he must already have been in office in this year. This fact would tend to favor the removal of the question mark from the date "194/5?" which Notopoulos²¹⁷ proposed for *I.G.*, II², 1806, in which this hierophant appears in the *aeisitoi* list; for if it were dated to its other possible year, viz. 193/4, we would have to compress even further his predecessor's already brief incumbency. In *I.G.*, II², 1806a, assigned to a year in which this hierophant was certainly in office (195/6), absolute hieronymy is observed; only the titles Ἱεροφάντης, Δαδοῦχος, Ἱεροκῆρυξ are inscribed. According to the *aeisitoi* list of *I.G.*, II², 1790, this hierophant appears in the extraordinary position of second place, behind the sacred herald, the only such occurrence in all the preserved *aeisitoi* lists. However, a squeeze of the inscription shows that this part of the text is definitely incorrect²¹⁸; lines 26–29 should read:

Νούμιος Ἱερο[φ]ᾶν[της]
Νούμ Ἱεροκῆρυ[ξ]
Πομπήιος Δαδο[ύ]χος

From a partially preserved *aeisitoi* list, not precisely datable,²¹⁹ we learn his demotic, Φαληρεὺς. He may be a son of L. Nummias Phaedreas of Phaleron,²²⁰ who married Nummia Bassa, daughter of a sacred herald.

If the restoration suggested in Appendix IV for line 1 of *I.G.*, II², 1789, [Νούμ]μιος Ἱεροφάντης, is correct, then he was probably still in office in 204/5.

28. Κλαύδιος Ἱεροφάντης) Μαραθώνιος. *I.G.*, II², 1077. In office in 209/10.

The sign) indicates that his father had the same name. Either his father was also a Ἱεροφάντης, or the hierophant's name, before hieronymy was imposed, was the same as his father's. Since most probably no Claudius of Marathon was hierophant in the previous

sixty years, the second alternative must be the correct one. In this case, Claudius Eumolpus son of Claudius Eumolpus of Marathon, ephebe in 169/70 (*I.G.*, II², 2097, line 38) appears, with some probability, to be the same person as our hierophant, since Eumolpus points to a connection with the appropriate *genos*, and in 209/10 Eumolpus would have been sixty years old.

29. Ἀπολλώνιος Ἀπολλωνίου. Philostratus, *Lives of the Sophists*, II, 20, p. 103 (ed. Kayser); *I.G.*, II², 3811–3812. Oliver, *Hesperia* 36 (1967): pp. 334–335. In office around 215.

In Philostratus's short biography of him the section concerning his career reads as follows:

Ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ὀνόματος μὲν ἡξιώθη καθ' Ἑλληνας, ὥς ἱκανὸς τὰ δικανικὰ καὶ τὰ ἀμφὶ μελέτην οὐ μεμπτός, ἐπαίδευσεν δὲ Ἀθήνησι καθ' Ἡρακλείδην τε καὶ τὸν ὁμώνυμον τοῦ πολιτικοῦ θρόνου προεστῶς ἐπὶ ταλάντω. διαπρεπὴς δὲ καὶ τὰ πολιτικὰ γενόμενος ἔν τε πρεσβείαις ὑπὲρ τῶν μεγίστων ἐπρέσβευσεν ἔν τε λειτουργίαις, ἃς μεγίστας Ἀθηναῖοι νομίζουσι, τήν τε ἐπώνυμον καὶ τήν ἐπὶ τῶν ὅπλων ἐπετράπη καὶ τὰς ἐξ ἀνακτόρου φωνὰς ἥδη γηράσκων, Ἡρακλείδου μὲν καὶ Λογίμου καὶ Γλαύκου καὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἱεροφαντῶν εὐφωνίᾳ μὲν ἀποδόντων, σεμνότητι δὲ καὶ μεγαλοπρεπείᾳ καὶ κόσμῳ παρὰ πολλοὺς δοκῶν τῶν ἄνω.

The rest of the biography discusses his oratorical style, but mention is made in passing that one of his embassies was to Septimius Severus in Rome.²²¹ Concerning his death it is stated that he died "about the age of seventy-five" and was buried along the Sacred Way in the suburb called the Sacred Fig, where the procession bringing the *hiera* from Eleusis stopped to rest.

A statue of him was set up at Eleusis while he was still alive (*I.G.*, II², 3811). Beneath the epigram originally inscribed on its base another was added after his death by his children, revealing his name and his father's name (line 12), which was also Apollonius.²²² In the first epigram the viewer is asked to keep his name silent while he is alive, because "a secret *thesmos*²²³ went taking it into the purple sea":

²²¹ In view of this embassy A. von Premerstein (*Jahreshefte* 16 [1913]: p. 263) suggested his name as a possible restoration in line 21 of *I.G.*, II², 1076, as the Athenian delegate sent to Rome in connection with honors for Julia Domna, but a new fragment (*Hesperia* 4 [1935]: pp. 178–183, no. 45) does not seem to bear this out.

²²² If *πατρός* means the hierophant himself, the father of the dedicators, the line seems needlessly redundant. A small non-joining fragment of this inscription, found in the storeroom of the museum at Eleusis, belongs at the end of this line and verifies the restoration of Keil: *πατρ[ρός] ὁμοῦ* ('*Arch.*' *Εφ.* 1971: p. 118, no. 12). The line signifies that his father had the same name.

The last line perhaps refers to Poseidon as the ancestor of the Eumolpidae; see Toepffer, 1889: p. 30.

²²³ *θεσμός* sounds very much like an object here, on which the name was written. It definitely was an object in the Thesmophoria; see Deubner, 1932: pp. 50–60.

²¹⁵ *I.G.*, II², 2019.

²¹⁶ *I.G.*, II², 3748.

²¹⁷ 1949: table I.

²¹⁸ For other corrections in this list see Oliver, *A.J.A.* 45 (1941): p. 539.

²¹⁹ *Hesperia* 16 (1947): p. 180, no. 84.

²²⁰ *I.G.*, II², 4069–4070.

that is, probably as part of the investiture ceremony, his name was written on a tablet and thrown into the sea.

His role as hierophant is described with the words ἀνακτόρου ἐκ προφανέντα νυξιν ἐν ἀργενναῖς. Reference is also made in the epigram to the fact that the rhetorical profession had been in his family for generations, and now that he was a hierophant he had given it up: θέσφατα νῦν λάχω. This and the synonym which Philostratus uses for his office, τὰς ἐξ ἀνακτόρου φωνάς, as well as the remark that other hierophants were better in *euphonia*, imply great importance for a melodious voice in connection with the functions of the hierophant in the Telesterion. Though not equal to three of his successors in *euphonia*, he surpassed many of his predecessors in "solemnity, magnificence, and dress," aspects of the hierophant's performance which were also evidently not unimportant at this time.

He was married at some time in his life.

Since Philostratus states that he was once an eponymous archon and hoplite general, Graindor²²⁴ identified him with the C. Cas(sius) Apollonius of Steiria who was hoplite general in 188/9²²⁵ and archon in 207/8.²²⁶ However, it is suggested below (p. 80, no. 10) that the hoplite general and the archon are father and son, and that the family belongs to the Kerykes. Oliver²²⁷ believes that he should be identified with the peregrine Apollonius son of Apollonius who was a member of the *consilium* that advised Commodus on affairs of the Gerusia in 182 and 183. The above interpretation of *I.G.*, II², 3811, line 12 as indicating that the hierophant was the son of a homonymous father offers support for Oliver's suggestion as far as the patronymic is concerned, but his suggestion otherwise cannot be regarded as probable on the basis of available evidence.²²⁸ However, I am inclined to agree with Oliver that our Apollonius is the sophist honored in *I.G.*, II², 3812. I would edit this inscription (fig. 4) as follows:

[κατὰ τὰ] δόξαντα Ἀρ[εοπαγείταις]
[ca. 5.] Ἀπολλώνιο[ν Ἀπολλωνίου]
[vac. τ] ὁ ν σ ο φ ι [σ τ ῆ ν vac.]
[-----]

The letters of line 3 (ht., ca. 0.026 m., disregarding the vertical stroke of the phi) are taller than those of lines 1–2 (ht., ca. 0.020 m.) as well as wider, which suggests that the name of the man honored did not run on to line 3, that is, did not consist of two sizes of letters,



FIG. 4. *I.G.*, II², 3812.

but that only the name of the man's distinguished profession stood *centered* in line 3. It is in fact centered in relation to line 1 and so it is reasonable to suppose that line 2 should be symmetrical with it also; this can be achieved with the restorations of the above text. We then have room for an abbreviated praenomen and nomen, which would of course rule out Oliver's identification. But the restoration [Ἀπολλώνιον] Ἀπολλωνίου [v. ca. 13 Demotic] is also possible as symmetrical with lines 1 and 3 if its beginning and end extended beyond those of line 1. It seems impossible to restore Ἀπολλώνιος Εὐδήμου Ἑρμείος.²²⁹ Wilhelm's identification²³⁰ of our Apollonius with P. Aelius Apollonius who is mentioned in *I.G.*, II², 3688 (*init. s. III p.*) as having been eponymous archon, basileus, hoplite general, epimelete of the gymnasiarchy, and herald of the Areopagus seems doubtful. Possible arguments against it are that no embassies are mentioned in *I.G.*, II², 3688 (but it may have been set up previous to them); and that Kirchner's stemma (ad *I.G.*, II², 3688) shows that the identification would presuppose a change of *genos* on the part of P. Aelius Apollonius or of his uncle, P. Aelius Dionysius, who was a daduch (but the stemma of the family of hierophant no. 20 and the case of Valerius Mamertinus²³¹ show that this is a possible course). A more serious argument is the fact that, as lines 13–16 of *I.G.*, II², 3688 reveal, the dedicator, the wife of P. Aelius Apollonius, took pains to show that her daughter was of distinguished ancestry; yet, if the identification is correct, she ignored her husband's sophistic profession which had been in his family for some time.

This hierophant was already dead when Philostratus was writing, between 230/1 and 238.²³² His incum-

²²⁴ 1922: pp. 215–217.

²²⁵ See *Hesperia*, Suppl. 8: pp. 281–283; Sarikakis, 1951: pp. 42–43.

²²⁶ *I.G.*, II², 2199, line 7; for the date see Notopoulos, 1949: pp. 34–35.

²²⁷ *Hesperia* 36 (1967): pp. 329–335.

²²⁸ Cf. J. and L. Robert, *R.E.G.* 82 (1969): p. 451, no. 193.

²²⁹ *I.G.*, II², 3665.

²³⁰ *R.E.*, 2, col. 121, no. 1; which is followed by *P.I.R.*², A, 142 and Bowersock, 1969: p. 133.

²³¹ Oliver, 1970: p. 4, lines 9–11.

²³² For the date cf. Bowersock, 1969: pp. 6–8. Since "Philostratus will have addressed Gordian at the outset by his highest

bency came in all probability before rather than after²³³ the hierophants with whom Philostratus compares him and who appear to have held the *hierophantia* in succession, namely, Heracleides, Logimus, and Glaucus (who served for a period of nine years and a fraction of a year). Thus Apollonius was either the successor of Claudius Hierophant of Marathon or at any rate served not long after him.

Ca. 220 A.D.

Around 220 A.D. a decree was passed by the Demos (I.G., II², 1078) regulating details of the ephebes' participation in the escort of the *hiera* from Eleusis to Athens and in the procession of the Mysteries to Eleusis. The end of the decree requests that this be made known to the Areopagus, the Boule of the Five Hundred, the hierophant, and the *genos* of the Eumolpidae. The importance attached to the hierophant's and the Eumolpidae's knowledge of this decree would seem to indicate that they were the ones primarily responsible for managing the procession. However, the decree also stipulates that the ephebes were to receive some Eumolpid funds,²³⁴ and it may have been for this reason, or also for this reason, that the hierophant and the Eumolpidae had to be specially notified.

Ca. 230 A.D.

A decree²³⁵ honoring Ulpius Eubiotus and his sons states that they are to share in the *aíseitíai* just as the hierophant and [---].

30. Ἡρακλείδης. Philostratus, II, 20, p. 103 (ed. Kayser). In office around 220–230.

31. Δόγμος. Philostratus, *ibid.* In office around 220–230. He probably succeeded Heracleides.

Wilhelm²³⁶ suggested that he is the same as the *ιερεὺς παναγῆς Ἰάσων Ζήθου ὁ καὶ Δόγισμος Ἀγνοῖσιος* (I.G., II², 3664). However, a hierophant could not hold a priesthood of the Kerykes along with his own. It is conceivable that he could have been *ιερεὺς παναγῆς*, then switched *genos* and became a hierophant, but there is not an inkling of evidence that it was done in this case.

32. Τ Φλάβιος Γλαῦκος Τ Φλαβίου Γλαύκου Μαραθώνιος. Philostratus, *ibid.*; I.G., II², 3661 (= Oliver,

and most recent office" (Bowersock), it follows that the dedication of the *Lives of the Sophists* was written before Gordian was emperor; for 230/1 as the *terminus post quem* see below, p. 81, n. 50.

²³³ Toepffer (1889: p. 58) interprets that they preceded him, but Philostratus does not specify a chronological relationship.

²³⁴ For the custom see above, p. 23.

²³⁵ Oliver, 1941: no. 31, line 25, and a copy in *Hesperia* 32 (1963): p. 26, no. 27, line 14.

²³⁶ *Beiträge zur griechischen Inschriftenkunde* (Wien, 1909), p. 96.

Hesperia, Suppl. 8 (1949): p. 252, no. 3); 3662, lines 13–14 (= Oliver, *op. cit.*, p. 253, no. 4); 3709, lines 10–11 (= Oliver, *op. cit.*, p. 250, no. 2). Stemma: Oliver, *op. cit.*, opposite p. 248. In office for nine years and part of a tenth, around 225–235.

His father, a Roman knight, was procurator of Cyprus around 180–200.²³⁷ The very distinguished family to which he belonged is illustrated in Oliver's stemma. His sister was the wife of a hierophant, and his brother Zoilus married the daughter of the hierophantid Isidote.

The most information concerning him comes from a memorial erected after his death at Eleusis (I.G., II², 3661)²³⁸: "Glaucus, joining a soul of old age to a body still in its prime, and to beauty of person adding the better part, wise self-control, revealed to all mankind the light-bringing rites of Deo for nine years, but in the tenth went to the immortals." Glaucus obviously died before reaching old age.

According to Philostratus his *euphonia* was much better than that of Apollonius. In I.G., II², 3709 (lines 10–11) he is called "the hierophant from the radiant Anactoron," a description similar to that in I.G., II², 3661: "he revealed to all mankind the light-bringing rites of Deo."

33. Hierophant. I.G., II², 3662.

Either before or after Glaucus. He was the husband of Glaucus's sister Euryale, eponymous archon, sophist, and was commemorated by his wife in I.G., II², 3662 (= Oliver, *Hesperia*, Suppl. 8 (1949): p. 253).

As Graindor suggested,²³⁹ he could be the same person as the hierophant Apollonius (no. 29).

34. Ἐρώτιος. I.G., II², 3674. In office after ca. 235.

A base with an epigram was set up in his honor by his son Cleadas, who was himself hierophant of a Demeter-Kore cult at Lerna,²⁴⁰ a cult similar to that of Eleusis at least in respect to the names of some of the priesthoods. Cleadas's name indicates that he was an Argive, and Boeckh (C.I.G., I, 405) made the plausible suggestion that he was born of an Argive mother. He is also mentioned in the *Palatine Anthology* (IX, 688) as *Λερναίων ἀδύτων περιώσιος ὀργιοφάντης . . . , Κλέης . . . ἀγανῆς πόσις εὐπατερείης*.

The significance of $\tilde{\omega}$ in line 3 of I.G., II², 3674 has not been commented upon by any of its editors. Such a dative with $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\chi\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ should mean "at the hand of,"

²³⁷ Cf. Woloch, 1966: Flavius no. 34a.

²³⁸ The translation is by Oliver, *Hesperia*, *loc. cit.* Omitted here is the very interesting final couplet on death as a *καλὸν ἐκ μακάρων μυστήριον*.

²³⁹ 1922: p. 217.

²⁴⁰ For the cult see Nilsson, *Geschichte*, 2: p. 354.

as in *δέξατο οἱ σκήπτρον πατρῶν*.²⁴¹ How then did Cleadas receive the *hierophantia* at Lerna "at the hand of" his father? It is possible that Erotius also served as hierophant at Lerna, or more likely, that he was involved in giving advice about religious matters in the Mystery cult there (which was already in existence by the time of Plutarch and Pausanias); in perhaps a somewhat similar way Timotheus the exegete²⁴² once furnished help in the founding of a Mystery cult at Alexandria. Thus Erotius might have had a voice in the appointment of a hierophant at Lerna, who turned out to be his own son, eligible by virtue of being born of an Argive mother.

In the epigram of *I.G.*, II², 3674 Erotius is called [Κ]ερροπίης σοφὸν ἔρνος, implying that, like other hierophants, he too was renowned for his wisdom.

35. Ἱεροφάντης Ξεναγόρου. *I.G.*, II², 2342. Stemma: E. Kapetanopoulos, *B.C.H.* 92 (1968): pp. 493–518, Stemma "C." In office in the first half of the fourth century.

His name is the culmination of a long *tabula genealogica* which is inscribed on a herm and of which only the last part is preserved. The inscription is actually divided into two sections, one section carved on the front of the herm and the other on the right side, with the genealogical information of one section complementing that of the other. It reveals that his ancestors were, on his mother's side, the great families of the Claudii of Melite (the daduchic house) and the Gellii of Delphi and Athens and, on his father's side, an unknown Eumolpid family.

36. Νεστόριος. Zosimus, IV, 18 (ed. Mendelssohn); Eunapius, *Lives of the Sophists*, VII, 3, 1–4, 9, and X, 8 (ed. Giangrande); Marinus, *Proclus*, 28, p. 22 (ed. Boissonade). The last legitimate hierophant. In office from before 355 to at least 375 and "not long before" 392.

He was known as a person of great wisdom and as a seer. Julian, just before he was elevated to Caesar in 355 A.D., heard of the hierophant's wisdom and rushed to Athens to be his pupil. But just when Julian succeeded in getting to know the hierophant well, Constantius conferred on him the rank of Caesar and assigned him to Gaul. When he was there he summoned the hierophant from Greece, and together with him performed "some things (i.e. rites) known only to them," which according to Eunapius were instrumental in influencing Julian to do away with the tyranny of Constantius. After he had done away with Constantius, Eunapius adds, he sent the hierophant back to Greece "as though he were sending off

a god who had appeared, and he gave him everything he wished," including "imperial gifts" and a retinue to take care of the sanctuaries of Greece.

Eunapius (X, 8), relating another incident from the life of this hierophant, at the time Julian was emperor (361–363), fills out the picture already given of him as a seer. At this time Prohaeresius consulted him, having noticed that "the hierophant was available, like the Delphic tripod, to all those seeking knowledge of the future." The question he put to him was whether Julian's tax reform would be permanent, and the answer was negative.

Another instance of the hierophant's prophetic powers is recounted by Zosimus, in connection with an incident that took place around 375. In a dream, the hierophant Nestorius, ἐν ἐκείνοις τοῖς χρόνοις ἱεροφάντειν τεταγμένος, now ὑπέργρηρος, foresaw a disaster and that Athen's only salvation lay in doing public honor to Achilles. But his proposal was spurned by the city officials. Undaunted, he fashioned a statue of Achilles in an *aediculum* and set it beneath the statue of Athena in the Parthenon, while reciting the appropriate prayers to both deities. Soon afterwards a great earthquake took place and only Athens was spared.

Nestorius was the hierophant who initiated (ἐτέλει) Eunapius,²⁴³ and although Eunapius was certainly writing after the hierophant's death, he says that "it is not lawful (*themis*) for me to say his name." (His name, however, is mentioned by Zosimus without any reference to hieronymy.) Eunapius states that this hierophant was a Eumolpid, and he prophesied to Eunapius that "after him a hierophant would be appointed for whom it would not be lawful to touch the hierophantic thrones, since this man would have already been consecrated to other gods and would have sworn secret oaths not to supervise other shrines," and he would not even be an Athenian. He also prophesied that sanctuaries would be razed and pillaged in his own time (though evidently not referring to Eleusis), and that the Eleusinian sanctuary would end its life before his successor ended his, and his successor would henceforth live in dishonor, destined neither to serve as hierophant nor to reach old age. The prophecy was borne out, Eunapius says, by the fact that his successor was from Thespieae and was a πατὴρ τῆς Μιθριακῆς, and by the fact that "not long thereafter" Alaric invaded (396 A.D.). The invasion was successful, according to Eunapius, because of the impiety of the blackrobes, and because the "law and bond of the hierophantic *thesmoi* had already been broken" (referring presumably to both the illegitimate hierophant and the edicts of Theodosius).

Nestorius was the father or grandfather of Plutarch, the Neo-Platonic philosopher who died in 431.²⁴⁴

²⁴¹ *Iliad*, II, line 186; for other examples see *L.S.J.*, s.v. δέχομαι I.1.

²⁴² See above, Introduction, The Secret of the Mysteries and Christian Writers.

²⁴³ VII, 3, 1.

²⁴⁴ For the relation see R. Buetler, *R.E.* 21 (1951): coll. 962–975, s.v. Plutarchos von Athen; cf. Oliver, *Expounders*, p. 84.

According to Marinus (*Proclus*, 28, p. 22, ed. Boissonade), who calls him Nestorius the Great, he was the author of *Ὀργία* and *Θεουργική Ἀγωγή*.²⁴⁵

ROMAN EMPIRE

A piece of one side of the *aediculum* of the *ἱεροφαντικός θρόνος* in the Telesterion is preserved and bears the vertically written inscription *Ἱεροφάντ[ης]*, of Roman date.²⁴⁶ The throne and its *aediculum* have been reconstructed by J. Travlos, who demonstrates on the basis of its foundation blocks that it was situated in close proximity to the entrance of the Anaktoron.²⁴⁷

UNKNOWN DATE

A grave inscription (*I.G.*, II², 6400) preserved only in the sketches of Fauvel as *..ΟΦΔΤΟΗΣ|Ἀντικράτου|Κηφισιεύς* is restored by W. Peek to read "certainly [*Ἱερ*]οφάντης rather than [*Πρ*]ωταγόρης."²⁴⁸ No date is given for the monument. The reading [*Ἱερ*]οφάντης seems very unlikely, since hieronymy is nowhere else attested on monuments erected after a hierophant's death.

UNCERTAIN PROVENANCE

The inscription mentioning the hierophant Antiochus, who appears in Toepffer's and Philios's lists, is of uncertain provenance, and so it is not clear whether Antiochus was an Eleusinian hierophant.²⁴⁹

GENERAL REMARKS

AGE AND DURATION OF SERVICE

In commenting on the Mysteries at Phlius Pausanias states (II, 14) that they differed from those at Eleusis in being held four times a year, and also in regard to the duration of the hierophant's term: *ἱεροφάντης οὐκ ἐς τὸν βίον πάντα ἀποδίδεσθαι, κατὰ δὲ ἐκάστην τελετὴν ἄλλοτὲ ἐστὶν ἄλλος σφίσιν αἰρετός, λαμβάνων ἢν ἐθέλῃ καὶ γυναῖκα*. That the appointment of a hierophant at Eleusis was for life is also indicated by the evidence concerning Apollonius (no. 29), Glaucus (no. 32), and Nestorius (no. 36) and by the fact that no living ex-hierophants are known.²⁵⁰ In addition, in the case of Apollonius (no. 29) an inscription states that hieronymy could be lifted only after his death. This was a custom which applied to the priest's entire term and was kept rigorously for all hierophants starting from

²⁴⁵ This identification was made by K. Latte, *Gnomon* 7 (1931): p. 118, n. 1.

²⁴⁶ *I.G.*, II², 3718; Preuner, *apud* Noack (1927: p. 292, no. 114a), suggests a date in the Hadrianic period. For a probable reference in the fourth century B.C. to the hierophant's throne, see above, p. 20.

²⁴⁷ *Αρχ.* 'Εφ. 1950-1951: pp. 1-16.

²⁴⁸ "Attische Grabinschriften I," *Abhandlungen der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Klasse für Sprachen, Literatur und Kunst*, 4 (1953): no. 26.

²⁴⁹ *C.I.G.*, II, 1948.

²⁵⁰ Cf. Oliver, *H.Th.R.* 43 (1950): p. 233.

around the end of the second century B.C. (see Introduction).

That the hierophant normally was not a young man is clear from a passage of Epictetus in which Epictetus addresses a hypothetical young man who proposes to reproduce the Mysteries at a place other than Eleusis by simply reproducing the sounds uttered by the hierophant²⁵¹: *οὐκ ἐσθῆτα ἔχεις ἢν δέῃ τὸν ἱεροφάντην, οὐ κόμην, οὐ στρόφιον οἶον δέῃ, οὐ φωνήν, οὐχ ἡλικίαν, οὐχ ἡγνεύκας ὡς ἐκεῖνος*. Thus only older men were normally appointed, and the evidence for the individual hierophants indicates that in fact several were of such an age: Lacrateides (no. 4) was probably over sixty when installed; Amynomachus (no. 12) over fifty; Hierophant of Hagnous (no. 23) is depicted in a relief as an old man; and Apollonius (no. 24) entered the *hierophantia* ἤδη γηράσκων and died at about seventy-five years of age. The evidence also indicates that some were probably less than sixty when they were installed, namely, Aristocles of Perithoidai (no. 13) whose term of service lasted at least 35 years and Glaucus (no. 32) who died after nine years of service while his body was "still in its prime." Apollinarius (no. 26) when he assumed office may have been fairly young. However, none of the latter cases justify the assumption that any of them were younger than about 45-50 at the time of their appointment. In regard to several of the other hierophants, about whose age no precise inferences can be drawn, the distinguished careers which they had already had by the time they appear in inscriptions as hierophants testify that they were certainly not young men. In addition, the short terms of several of the hierophants of the end of the second and the beginning of the third century A.D. point to the same conclusion, namely that age was an important pre-requisite for appointment to the *hierophantia*, the importance of it perhaps varying according to the period.

MARITAL STATUS

Pausanias (II, 14, see above) seems to say that one of the ways in which the hierophants of Phlius differed from those at Eleusis was that the former could marry if they wished. However, many of the hierophants at Eleusis had children, and so Pausanias's testimony raises the question whether they were still married or were widowers when serving as hierophants. A statement of Hyperides strongly suggests that marriage was permitted in the fourth century B.C.²⁵² The dedication in honor of Menecleides (no. 13) erected by his wife, shows that marriage was not forbidden around the end of the second century B.C., and a dedication of the second century A.D. by perhaps²⁵³ the

²⁵¹ Arrian, *Discourses of Epictetus*, III, 21, 16 (ed. Schenkl).

²⁵² Cited above, p. 21.

²⁵³ *I.G.*, II², 3628. She could not have been a daughter, but it is possible that she was not his wife.

wife of a hierophant invites criticism of Pausanias's testimony even for his own period.

Pausanias visited Athens probably shortly before the middle of the second century, certainly before 160–161.²⁵⁴ It is possible that at this time the incumbent was not married, and it is also possible that the well-known chastity observed by the hierophant during the festival (see below) was a source of confusion. Though *λαμβάνων γυναῖκα* is a normal term for marrying, perhaps Pausanias is using it here simply to refer to intercourse, so that it should be taken closely with *κατὰ δὲ ἐκάστην τελετήν*. At any rate, if he does not mean this, his testimony does not seem to be correct on this point.

MANNER OF APPOINTMENT

Only four hierophants were close relatives of one another: the brothers Amynomachus and Aristocles of the second century B.C., and Menecleides and Theophemus of the last quarter and the end of the second century B.C., who were father and son. This small number, in contrast to the relatively large number of unrelated hierophants, especially those of the fourth century B.C. and of 150–230 A.D., the two periods for which our records are the most complete, would lead one to infer that inheritance was not the manner of appointment. At the same time, the number of related hierophants is large enough to cast doubt on allotment as the manner of appointment, at least for the period after the third century B.C. However, there is some, though not very strong, evidence that allotment may have been used before the time of Aristotle.²⁵⁵ We must conclude that at least for the later period hierophants were elected, and, accordingly, that occasionally a family of great prestige and popularity among the Eumolpidae succeeded in having more than one of its members elected. Interestingly, the predominance of certain families of the Eumolpidae in the *hierophantia* occurred in the second century B.C. and coincides with a somewhat similar though lengthier predominance of certain families of the Kerykes in the *dadouchia* about the same time.

POLITICAL ACTIVITIES AND SOCIAL POSITION

Little is known of the lives of the hierophants. Archias (no. 3) was on good terms with oligarchs, Eurymedon (no. 7) brought suit against Aristotle, Eurycleides (no. 8) was intolerant of philosophic witticisms on the Mysteries. The only political office attested for hierophants of the pre-Sullan period is service in the Boule (no. 11 and perhaps no. 9).

In 86/5 a hierophant was archon, and generally speaking, it is characteristic of the hierophants of the Roman period to be politically very distinguished.

²⁵⁴ Cf. J. C. Frazer, *Pausanias' Description of Greece*, pp. xvi–xviii.

²⁵⁵ See below, pp. 52–53, 67.

Claudius Oenophilus (no. 18) held nearly every major political position, others held several of them. At least three (nos. 18, 24, 29) served as ambassadors, two of them to Rome. In at least one case, that of Claudius Oenophilus (no. 18), who was probably the first Athenian equestrian, a hierophant, before assuming office, had had a Roman career. Flavius Leosthenes (no. 24), Apollonius (no. 29), and Nestorius (no. 36) were on good terms with emperors.

The hierophant Apollonius (no. 29) was a sophist, and several (nos. 32, 34, 36) were known for their wisdom; and the last legitimate hierophant (no. 36) achieved renown for his powers of prophecy and magic. No. 25 was highly praised for his clear thinking and courage in the face of hostile attack upon the sanctuary. Clearly the hierophant in the Roman period generally was a person who enjoyed considerable prestige. Plutarch and Dio Chrysostom relate that the *hierophantia* was the most important and most respected priesthood in Athens.²⁵⁶ It was also highly respected in the Classical and Hellenistic period, but whether to such a degree is not known.

REQUIREMENTS FOR APPOINTMENT

Political and intellectual distinction (at least in the Roman period) were undoubtedly very helpful in influencing appointment, but religious and ceremonial abilities were evidently also necessary. Philostratus considered a pleasing or melodious voice (*εὐφωνία*) to be highly desirable of a hierophant and listed three hierophants who had it (nos. 30–32) and a fourth (no. 29) who was not quite up to them in this respect. Epictetus listed *φωνή* as one of the hierophant's essential characteristics. Philostratus also stressed "solemnity, magnificence, and dress."

INVESTITURE

Apparently the most important part of the ceremony of installation was the reception of the *strophion*; in the case of Flavius Leosthenes (no. 24) this seems to have been practically synonymous with becoming a hierophant.²⁵⁷ It was probably at some point during the investiture that the hierophant cast his former name into the sea and became hieronymous.

Investiture was not restricted to a particular place, as is shown by the case of Flavius Leosthenes (no. 24) who received the *strophion* in Rome in the presence of Antonius Pius.

RELIGIOUS COSTUME

The best evidence for the dress of the hierophant is the relief of hierophant no. 23, in connection with

²⁵⁶ See above, n. 179.

²⁵⁷ See the discussion of the *strophion* in connection with *I.G.*, II², 3592 and Flavius Leosthenes (no. 24) and in the section on the hierophant's dress. The same significance of the reception of the *strophion* is attested for other cults; for bibliography see L. Robert, *Hellenica* 11–12 (1960): p. 459.

which a full discussion of the hierophant's dress was presented. From this relief and literary evidence the following picture emerges. The color of his ceremonial garment was perhaps purple. The most important part of his dress was the *strophion*, above which he customarily wore a myrtle wreath. His hair was probably long by tradition. In addition, hierophant no. 23 holds a staff and wears rather fancy boots. The general impression of *εὐπρέπεια* and *σεμνότης* influenced a speaker in Athenaeus to accuse the hierophant and daduch of imitating the stage.

EMOLUMENTS

The hierophant's primary source of fees was probably the initiates themselves.²⁵⁸ Though his fee is not preserved, one amounting to five obols or more would be commensurate with what the priestess of Demeter and Kore received. A portion of the proceeds from the harvest of the Rarian field was given to him as well as to the other priests and priestesses of the cult.²⁵⁹ He undoubtedly received also a portion of the sacrifices offered during the Mysteries, just as every member of the Eumolpidae did, and perhaps as hierophant his portion was greater.²⁶⁰ In the time of Aeschines, at least, he probably underwent a financial audit.²⁶¹ In the second century A.D. he had a share in the Eleusinian endowment, but otherwise nothing is known of payments to him during the Roman period. Perhaps fees were still collected from initiates, but the need for a panegyriarch²⁶² shows that if so, these fees did not pay the full expenses of the festival as they apparently did in Classical times. In view of the general wealthiness of the hierophants of this period the initiates' fees may have been less important.

Perhaps a clearer picture would emerge from a comprehensive study of the finances of the sanctuary.

RELIGIOUS FUNCTIONS

At the time of the Mysteries he practiced chastity.²⁶³ Together with the daduch he announced the Mysteries (the *prorrhesis*) from the Stoa Poecile through the services of the sacred herald.²⁶⁴ He and the *genos* of

the Eumolpidae were perhaps primarily responsible for the direction of the procession²⁶⁵; he and the daduch probably marched at its head.²⁶⁶

We may summarize here the most trustworthy (non-Christian) evidence referring specifically to the hierophant and his activity within the Telesterion.²⁶⁷

As his title indicates, he showed the *hiera* to the initiates.²⁶⁸ The *hiera* were kept in the Anactoron, into which he alone was permitted to enter.²⁶⁹ He had a considerable speaking role during this most sacred service, for which a pleasing and melodious voice was essential.²⁷⁰ He had to reveal certain spoken secrets (*λεγόμενα*) to the assembled initiates.²⁷¹ And a very important part of his speaking was done within the Anactoron: Philostratus uses *αἱ ἐξ ἀνακτόρου φωναὶ* as a synonym for the *hierophantia*.²⁷² At the moment he emerged, the Anactoron was lit by a brilliant light, and the appearance of the hierophant bathed in this light was a dramatic moment that was especially remembered: Apollonius (no. 29) is described in an epigram as *ἀνακτόρου ἐκ προφανέντα νυξίν ἐν ἀργενναῖς*, and Glaucus (no. 32) is called "the hierophant from the radiant Anactoron." Glaucus is also called the one who "revealed to all mankind the light-bringing rites of Deo." Brilliant light was a very important part of the festival at this point.²⁷³

It is clear from a scholion to Aristophanes' *Frogs* (line 369) and a comment by Suetonius that by Eumolpidae and Kerykes Isocrates probably had in mind the hierophant, daduch, and sacred herald. The scholion reads: *παρὰ τὴν τοῦ ιεροφάντου καὶ δαδούχου προρρησιν τὴν ἐν τῇ ποικίλῃ στοᾷ*. Suetonius's remark, *Nero*, 34 is cited below, p. 78, where the priests' role in the *prorrhesis* is discussed.

²⁵⁸ See above, p. 42.

²⁵⁹ See above, pp. 35–36.

²⁶⁷ Concerning the difficulty of interpreting the testimonia of Christian sources, which is not attempted here, see above, Introduction, The Secret of the Mysteries and Christian Writers. Proceedings in the Telesterion which do not refer specifically to the hierophant are omitted here.

²⁶⁸ Also so indicated in the charge brought against Alcibiades, Plutarch, *Alcibiades*, 22 and Pseudo-Lysias, *Against Andocides*, 51. This is ignored by Kerenyi, *Eleusis, Archetypal Image of Mother and Daughter* (New York, 1967), p. 90, who proposes a rather strange theory: "strictly speaking, *hierophantes* means not he who 'shows the holy things'—that would have to be called *hierodeiktes* in Greek—but 'he who makes them appear,' *phainei*." He has a severely limited notion of this verb.

²⁶⁹ Aelian, *Varia Historia*, fragment 10; cf. above, n. 208.

²⁷⁰ See above the hierophants nos. 25, 29, 32. References by Sopater to the voice of the hierophant imply that it was an essential part of the initiation rite (*Rhetores Graecae*, ed. C. Walz, VIII, p. 123, line 3).

²⁷¹ Pseudo-Lysias, *loc. cit.*

²⁷² See above in connection with the hierophant Apollonius (no. 29).

²⁷³ The light is mentioned also in: *I.G.*, II², 4058; Plutarch, *Progress in Virtue*, 81e (who is presumably referring to the Eleusinian Mysteries); Dio Chrysostom, *Oratio* XII, 33, p. 163, Vol. I (ed. von Arnim) (though it is not clear that he is referring specifically to Eleusis). For a full discussion of the light see O. Rubensohn, *Jahrbuch* 70 (1955): pp. 34–49; on the intellectual illumination of the Mysteries see P. Boyancé, *R.E.G.* 75 (1962): pp. 460–473.

²⁵⁸ See above, pp. 10–13 and 26.

²⁵⁹ See above, p. 20.

²⁶⁰ See above, p. 23.

²⁶¹ Aeschines, *Against Ctesiphon*, 18 (ed. Blass): *οἶον τοὺς ιερέας καὶ τὰς ιερέας ὑπευθύνους εἶναι κελεύει ὁ νόμος, καὶ συλλήβδην ἅπαντας καὶ χωρὶς ἐκαστοὺς κατὰ σῶμα, τοὺς τὰ γέρα μόνον λαμβάνοντας καὶ τὰς εὐχὰς ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς εὐχομένους, καὶ οὐ μόνον ἰδίᾳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ κοινῇ τὰ γένη, Εὐμολπίδας καὶ Κήρυκας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας.*

²⁶² For the official see Geagan, 1967: p. 136.

²⁶³ See the quotation from Epictetus cited above, p. 44; also Julian, *Oratio* V, 173c–d (ed. Hertlein), where the custom is somewhat exaggerated, the impression being given that it was not limited to the time of the festival.

²⁶⁴ Isocrates, *Panegyricus*, 157 (ed. Blass): *Εὐμολπίδαι δὲ καὶ Κήρυκες ἐν τῇ τελετῇ τῶν μυστηρίων διὰ τὸ τοῦτων μῖσος καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις βαρβάρους εἰργασθαι τῶν ἱερῶν ὥσπερ τοῖς ἀνδροφόνους προαγορεύουσιν.*

Having emerged from the Anactoron, the hierophant was assisted by the hierophantids in showing the *hiera*.²⁷⁴ Perhaps at this point he walked around the Telesterion, revealing the *hiera* in procession with the daduch and the hierophantids and some or all of the other priests.

He sat on a special throne during part of the ceremonies.²⁷⁵ At one point he "sounded a gong as Kore was being summoned."²⁷⁶

Other duties in connection with the Mysteries included writing the speeches of the *spondophoroi*.²⁷⁷ In most of his religious duties he could normally rely on enthusiastic assistance from the *genos* of the Eumolpidae.²⁷⁸

He had a part also in the celebration of the Calamaea²⁷⁹ and the Proerosia,²⁸⁰ the only other festivals at Eleusis with which any evidence connects him. Around the end of the fourth century B.C. he went as a member of a delegation from the Eleusinian sanctuary, i.e., he and the "priestesses from Eleusis," to the festival of the Pyanopsia.²⁸¹ Only "priestesses" are his associates also in the Calamaea.

During the *panegyris* of the Mysteries he and a group of "appointed men" supervised the use of proper weights and measures, according to a law issued around the end of the second century B.C.²⁸²

II. DADUCH (Δαδούχος)

So far as is known, the daduchs were always drawn from the *genos* of the Kerykes.¹

1. Καλλίας (II) Ἰππονίκου (I) Ἀλωπεκῆθεν. Scholion to Aristophanes, *Clouds*, line 64; Plutarch, *Aristides*, 5 and 25. For all other prosopographical references and further discussion see *P.A.*, 7825; D. MacDowell, *Andocides, On the Mysteries* (Oxford,

²⁷⁴ See below, chap. VII, General Remarks.

²⁷⁵ See above, pp. 20 and 44.

²⁷⁶ Apollodorus, *On the Gods*, *F. Gr. Hist.*, 244, F110b. The phrase χαλκοκρότου ... Δαμάτερος in Pindar, *Isthmian* VII, lines 3-4 probably does not refer to this: it refers to the shrieking of Demeter as she searches for her daughter, according to E. Thummer, *Pindar, Die Isthmische Gedichte* (Heidelberg, 1969) 2: p. 116, *ad. loc.*; but B. Moreux (*R.E.G.* 83 [1970]: pp. 1-14) discusses the various interpretations of χαλκοκρότου and believes that it refers to the instruments used in the cult of the Great Mother, Cybele, who was assimilated to the cult of Demeter at Thebes.

²⁷⁷ See above, p. 23.

²⁷⁸ In regard to the sophist Adrian, Philostratus (*Lives of the Sophists*, p. 91, ed. Kayser) says: *θεράπειον, ὥσπερ τὰ γένη τῆς Ἐλευσίνης ἱεροφάντην λαμπρῶς ἱεουργοῦντα*. Compare the assistance rendered by the Eumolpidae to Aristocles (no. 11).

²⁷⁹ *I.G.*, II², 949, line 10; cf. above, p. 27.

²⁸⁰ See above, p. 22.

²⁸¹ See above, p. 22.

²⁸² See above, pp. 28-29.

¹ The clearest statement of this is made by Aelius Aristides, *Eleusinian Oration*, 4 (ed. Keil), and all other evidence is in agreement.

1962), p. 10 and append. L (stemma); J. K. Davies, *Athenian Propertied Families, 600-300 B.C.* (Oxford, 1971), pp. 258-261. For his deme see D. Lewis, *B.S.A.* 50 (1955): pp. 13-14 and B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 5 (1936): p. 410. In office from 490 B.C. or earlier to 446/5 or later.

To the battle of Marathon Callias is said to have come dressed in his priestly garb (*ἐν τῇ ἱερᾷ στολῇ*), and to have fought honorably.² He and his family, which included Aristides, his cousin, were quite prominent. Dedications he erected on the Acropolis still survive, one of which was perhaps a statue in honor of his victories in the Olympic games.³

His service to the Mysteries as daduch was evidently no impediment to his undertaking several important services for the state. When well advanced in years, he took part in the embassy of 449/8 to King Artaxerxes, which resulted in the alleged Peace of Callias, and he is last heard of as one of the two men who negotiated the Thirty Years' Truce with Sparta in 446/5 (he was also Sparta's *proxenos*). He was especially renowned for his wealth. By his contemporaries he was considered *πλουσιώτατος Ἀθηναίων*; by the comic poets he was nicknamed *λακκόπλουτος*. One explanation of the nickname is given in an anecdote related by Plutarch. According to him Callias was *ὠμότατος ἀνθρώπων καὶ παρανομώτατος*, and after the battle of Marathon some barbarian, "thinking him a king because of his long hair (*κομή*) and headband (*στρόφιον*), bowed to the ground before him, took him by the hand and showed him a heap of gold buried in a pit;" he then allegedly killed this man and took the gold. But the story has too many comic elements to be taken seriously; Plutarch probably relied heavily on the comedians in this instance, and his account is further suspect in that he seems to like to make a nice contrast between the wealth and vice of Callias and the virtue and poverty of his cousin Aristides. Other versions relate just that he found a cache of gold left behind by the Persians.⁴

As a soldier in the battle of Marathon he may have wanted to demonstrate, by wearing his religious costume (*ἱερὰ στολή*), that he was there also as a priest, perhaps regarding himself as acting in defense of not only Athens but also the Mysteries and the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore, which were intimately bound up with Athenian life.

There has been some debate as to whether the son of Callias, Hipponicus, was also a daduch, and relatedly, whether the office of daduch was hereditary in this family, whose known history extends from Phaenippus⁵ in the early sixth century to Hipponicus

² Plutarch, *Aristides*, 5; scholion to Aristophanes, *Clouds*, line 64.

³ A. Raubitschek, *Dedications on the Athenian Akropolis*, nos. 111 and 136; cf. Davies, *op. cit.*, p. 258.

⁴ *F. Gr. Hist.*, 104, F13 and Suda, s.v. *λακκόπλουτος*.

⁵ *P.A.*, 7833.

son of Hipponicus in the third century,⁶ and which in the fifth and fourth centuries shows an alternating father-son series of Callias-Hipponicus. With the notable exception of Foucart, scholars have considered the office of daduch as hereditary in the family at least during the fifth and fourth centuries, when a Callias alternated with an Hipponicus.⁷ Foucart's objections are that only two daduchs are attested with certainty as coming from this family, Callias (II) and his grandson Callias (III), the accuser of Andocides; that this is not sufficient evidence to conclude that the office of daduch was hereditary in the family for two centuries; and that there is no proof that Hipponicus, the son of Callias (II) and father of Callias (III), the necessary link for proving any heredity at all, was in fact a daduch. The evidence traditionally cited to prove that Hipponicus was a daduch is a statement of Andocides (115): "And once his father (i.e., the father of Callias III), Hipponicus, expounded (*ἐξηγήσατο*) this to the Athenians." The interpretation of this statement (if Callias told the truth) is simply that Hipponicus usurped the right of Eumolpid exegesis, which belonged exclusively to the Eumolpidae⁸; it cannot be interpreted, as Foucart correctly maintains, to mean necessarily that Hipponicus was a daduch at the time he performed illegitimate exegesis. Callias (III), Hipponicus's son, who also tried to usurp the right of exegesis, did so by relying on his prestige as daduch to escape detection.⁹ It does not follow that Hipponicus also had to rely on the office of daduch to act in the same illegitimate manner. As *πλουσιώτατος τῶν Ἑλλήνων*, and a man of considerable influence in Athens, and naturally therefore an important member of the Kerykes, he may not have needed the office of daduch to make his improper exegesis carry weight. In any event, the fact—if it was a fact, for we have only the biased word of Callias—that Hipponicus illegitimately performed exegesis is not proof that he was a daduch. Some indication that he was not a daduch may be seen in the fact that in 387 it is mentioned that he had recently died.¹⁰ Now we know that his son Callias was serving as daduch from before 400 to at least 371, so Hipponicus would have had to have died before 400. Although it is not impossible that "recently" (*νεωστὶ*) could refer to an event more than thirteen years before, I think this tends to favor the position that Hipponicus was not a daduch.

Another argument, which has not been brought to bear on this problem of heredity, is that in 350/49 and 302 the incumbent daduchs were respectively Hierocleides and Pythodorus.¹¹ They were probably not members of this family, as these names do not occur anywhere in the family's stemma; but much more significantly, in 350/49 neither Callias (IV) whose *akme* was around 355 nor his father Hipponicus whose *akme* was around 388 were either of them the incumbent daduch; nor was Hipponicus (IV) whose *akme* was around 322 the incumbent daduch in 302. So, unless Hierocleides and Pythodorus came from a related branch or branches, this family was not in control of the office of daduch in the second half of the fourth century. We must conclude that the office of daduch was not hereditary in this family throughout its known history and that there is no firm evidence that it was so even at any one time in its history.

Between the incumbencies of Callias (II) and Callias (III) at least one daduch held office.

AROUND THE MIDDLE OF THE FIFTH CENTURY

A representation of the *ιερά στολή* which the daduch wore around this time is probably preserved on a red-figure stamnos, which was painted around the end of Callias (I)'s lifetime and placed in an Eleusinian grave.¹² A bearded man of mature age is shown marching, barefoot, in a solemn manner, with a torch in each hand, and he is followed by a *mystes*, crowned (with myrtle) and holding a myrtle-staff.¹³ The daduch's long hair flows down his back and is bound on his head by the *strophion*, which seems to cover a wreath probably of myrtle.¹⁴ His garments are quite regal. A chiton reaches to midway between the knee and ankle, with a row of decorative dots, probably embroidered, circling the garment slightly above the hem. A heavier garment, apparently an *ἐπενδυτής*, decorated with small circles scattered all over, is worn over the chiton and reaches to just above the knees; it is bound about the waist with a decorated sash. Both the chiton and the *ependytes* are sleeveless. A stolelike chlamydion passes around his neck; its two ends come down in front of his chest, pass under the sash, and terminate just below the hem of the *ependytes*. Considering the figure's royal bearing and splendid garments, the joke about a barbarian mistaking him for a king is graphically clear.¹⁵

¹¹ See below, daduchs, nos. 3 and 4.

⁶ *I.G.*, II², 4680. He was connected with this family by D. M. Lewis, *loc. cit.*

⁷ So also most recently MacDowell, *loc. cit.* and Davies, *op. cit.*, p. 269 (which appeared after my discussion was written). For bibliography see Foucart, 1914: p. 191, n. 2.

⁸ Cf. Oliver, *Expounders*, p. 21, and below p. 91.

⁹ Oliver, *loc. cit.*, and below pp. 90–91.

¹⁰ Lysias, XIX, 48; for the date of this speech see F. Blass, *Attische Beredsamkeit* 1: p. 531. Athenaeus (5, 218b–c) infers that Hipponicus died ca. 422, probably wrongly since the date is in great disagreement with the direct evidence of Lysias.

¹² K. Kourouniotes, "Ἐλευσινιακή Δαδουχία," *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.* 1937, pp. 223–253, fig. 4; cf. J. P. Beazley, *Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters*², p. 1052.

¹³ For the myrtle-staff used by initiates see below, pp. 103–104. A third figure, a woman, standing slightly apart from this scene, Kourouniotes believes to be Kore.

¹⁴ Traditional for the daduch and other Eleusinian priests; see above, p. 33. The object between his hair and the back of the *strophion* has not been explained.

¹⁵ Kourouniotes interprets a torch-bearing figure on the neck of a black-figure loutrophoros (Metzger, 1965: p. 28, no. 66) as a

Ca. 416 B.C.

In *I.G.*, I², 76 the hierophant and the daduch are requested to announce at the time of the Mysteries that the Greeks are to donate an *aparche* to Demeter and Kore (see above pp. 14–15). Both priests are also requested to inscribe the size of each *aparche* and the name of its donor on a tablet. It was shown above that they did this not so much in their traditional religious capacity as priests than as the chief administrators of the sanctuary, the representatives of the Eumolpidae and the Kerykes.

415 B.C.

The office of daduch was involved in the accusation of Alcibiades for impiety in this year. The charge was that Alcibiades called himself hierophant, Pulytion daduch, and Theodorus of Phegaia herald.¹⁶ The daduch was certainly among the priests and priestesses of Eleusis who cursed Alcibiades in 415 and who had to rescind their curse in 408 (see above, pp. 15–16). Callias (no. 2) may well have been the daduch at this time. It is interesting that he and Alcibiades had been on very bad terms concerning Hipparete, Callias's sister, whom Alcibiades married sometime before 424.¹⁷ According to Pseudo-Andocides they quarreled over her dowry, Alcibiades insisting that another ten talents were owing to him at the birth of their first child.¹⁸ Alcibiades also mistreated Hipparete in various ways, to such an extent that at one time she tried, unsuccessfully, to divorce him. Alcibiades was also said to have planned the assassination of Callias in order to acquire his wealth, which forced Callias to make over his property to the state in the event that he died without an heir.

Whether daduch or not at this time, Callias was certainly an influential member of the Kerykes, and this fact provides additional background for Thucydides' statement¹⁹ that the Eumolpidae and the Kerykes were opposed to the recall of Alcibiades in

daduch, but this is uncertain: the figure's hair is short, the upper half of the head is not preserved, and the dress is very different from that of the figure just described (which of course may be explained by the difference in period). Also uncertain is the "daduch" on a red-figure skyphos in Brussels (*Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum*, Belgique, fasc. 2, pl. 18, no. 1; Beazley, *op. cit.*, p. 661, no. 86; photograph also in Kerenyi, 1967: p. 78 and Metzger, 1965: pl. 13/1 and 2). The scene has to do with the initiation of Heracles into the Mysteries; both he and another figure hold myrtle-staffs. A long-haired bearded man standing between them, the "daduch," holds a torch in each hand and is about to hand them over, simultaneously it seems, to each man. However, the garments of the "daduch" are quite different from those of the daduch on the Eleusis stamnos; moreover, he is wearing only a myrtle crown, no *strophion*. The man could simply be a *mystagogos* handing two *mystai* torches in preparation for the procession or the ceremonies at Eleusis.

¹⁶ Plutarch, *Alcibiades*, 22, 4.

¹⁷ Pseudo-Andocides, *Against Alcibiades*, 13.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, and Plutarch, *op. cit.*, 8.

¹⁹ VIII, 53, 2.

408. In addition to the affront they received (or imagined they received) by his (alleged) mimicry and in addition to the embarrassment they would suffer by having to rescind their curses, Callias, one of their most prominent members if not the daduch himself, was his bitter enemy.

2. Καλλίας (III) Ἰππονίκου (II) Ἀλωπεκῆθεν. Andocides, *On the Mysteries* (ed. MacDowell), 112 and 124–127; Xenophon, *Hellenica*, VI, 3, 2–6; Aristotle, *Rhetorica*, 1405a, 20. For all other prosopographical references see *P.A.*, 7826, MacDowell, *op. cit.*, pp. 10–11 and append. L (stemma), and Davies, *op. cit.*, pp. 262–263. In office from sometime before 400 to at least 371. Born about 450 and still alive in 371.

Like his ancestors, he was a very prominent man in Athens, and on some occasions held positions in the government. He served as general in 391/0 in the Corinthian War, and also went three times as envoy to Sparta.²⁰ His last mission as envoy was in 371, and the speech he gave at that time to the Lacedaemonians is summarized by Xenophon²¹; in it he refers to the Eleusinian Mysteries and to the civilizing mission of Triptolemus among the Peloponnesians. He dedicated *στλεγγίδες ἐπίτηκτοι* on Delos,²² perhaps, as Schaeffer²³ believes, when he was an *ἀρχιθῆωρος*.

Very active in social and intellectual affairs, he lavished large amounts of money on the Sophists, and in his house were held Plato's *Protagoras* and Xenophon's *Symposium*. His luxurious living, parodied by Eupolis in 421 in the *Flatterers*, was a source of frequent comment. He was famous also for dissipating his personal wealth, at one time among the greatest in Greece, so that by 387 he had only two talents (while his grandfather's wealth amounted at one time to two hundred talents),²⁴ and near the end of his life he could be called "the beggar priest" (*μητραγύρης*). His tumultuous marital life is amply described by Andocides; it had, apparently, much to do with why he brought Andocides to trial in 400.

In his speech at this trial Andocides refers to Callias as a "priest"²⁵: γαμῆ μὲν Ἰσχομάχου θυγατέρα· ταύτη δὲ συνοικήσας οὐδ' ἐνιαυτὸν τὴν μητέρα αὐτῆς ἔλαβε, καὶ συνῴκει ὁ πάντων σχετλιώτατος ἀνθρώπων τῇ μητρὶ καὶ τῇ θυγατρὶ, ἱερεὺς ὢν τῆς Μητρὸς καὶ τῆς Θυγατρὸς. If Andocides is accurate here, Callias was already daduch at the time he was living with these two women, therefore sometime before 400, though it is uncertain

²⁰ He was also *proxenos* for Sparta.

²¹ *Hellenica*, loc. cit. He may still have been alive in 367/6 if he is to be identified with the Callias of Alopeke in *Hesperia* 10 (1941): no. 1, line 64.

²² *I.G.*, II², 1638, lines 44–45; 1640, lines 6–7; 1652, lines 9–10; 1653, lines 6–7.

²³ *R.E.*, 4: col. 2477, lines 47–53.

²⁴ Lysias, XIX, 48; for the date see F. Blass, *Attische Beredsamkeit* 1: p. 531.

²⁵ *Op. cit.*, 124.

exactly how long before. We also learn that sometime after his double cohabitation with these women, again before 400, he held another priesthood simultaneously: as the priest of his phratry he was officiating when the relatives of Chrysilla, one of the women he was living with (*ἡ Μήτηρ*) tried to introduce into his phratry the child that she conceived by him.²⁶

352 B.C.

The decree of 352 concerning the Sacred *Orgas* (*I.G.*, II², 204) mentions the daduch as the representative of the Kerykes, who together with the hierophant, the representative of the Eumolpidae, was requested to perform some administrative functions in regard to the implementation of this decree.²⁷ However, in line 58, where arrangements for a sacrifice are described, the hierophant's associate is not the daduch but the priestess of Demeter, which shows that as a *religious* representative of the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore he was less important than the priestess.

3. 'Ιεροκλείδης. *Didymi de Demosthene Commenta*, edd. H. Diehls and W. Schubart (Leipzig, 1904), col. 13, lines 41–58, and col. 14.²⁸ In office in 350/49.

The affair of the Sacred *Orgas*, described above, was finally settled in 350/49 through the arbitration of the hierophant Lacrateides and the daduch Hierocleides.

329/8

The daduch possessed a house in the Eleusinian sanctuary in 329/8 according to *I.G.*, II², 1672, line 305, which records an expenditure for wood for the "doors of the priestess and the daduch."

4. Πυθόδωρος. Plutarch, *Demetrius*, 26. *P.A.*, 12394. In office in 302.

He was daduch in 302 when Demetrius Poliorcetes was initiated into the Mysteries. Demetrius wanted to complete all stages of initiation, the Lesser Mys-

teries, the Greater Mysteries, and the Epoptheia at the same time, as soon as he arrived in Athens, which was to be in the month of Munychion. Such a request was unheard of in the entire history of the sanctuary; the fulfillment of it would be a travesty. When the letter of Demetrius requesting this was read, Pythodorus the daduch refused to go along with it. Despite his refusal it was decreed to call Munychion Anthesterion, and then to celebrate the Lesser Mysteries; and after their celebration it was decreed to call Munychion Boedromion, and the Greater Mysteries were held. It is interesting that no resistance was offered by the hierophant: Plutarch explicitly states that Pythodorus was the only one who dared to refuse.

END OF THE THIRD CENTURY TO END OF THE FIRST CENTURY B.C.

Between the end of the third century and the end of the first century before Christ exactly ten daduchs held office, and their names and exact order of succession are known. The information is contained in a decree²⁹ passed in the year of the archonship of Apolexis (20/19)³⁰ which honors the daduch Themistocles son of Theophrastus of Hagnous. It states that Themistocles "received his *εὐγένεια* and from this *εὐγένεια* the priesthood itself, in succession, from his father Theophrastus and from" eight other ancestors, the earliest of whom was Leontius of Acharnae, who lived around the end of the third century (for the stemma see below p. 58). These names were apparently taken from a register; for, after mentioning the ten daduchs in succession, the decree states: "and before all of these, Hermotimus and Hierocleides were daduchs before the registering (*ἀναγραφή*) of the Kerykes on the tablet."

Since this important decree will be cited frequently in the discussion to come, a new edition is presented here, incorporating corrections made from a study of the stone.

Decree Honoring Daduch Themistocles

20/19 a.

'Αγαθῇ τύχῃ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων ἐπὶ Ἀπολήξειδος ἀρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆς Π[α]νδιονίδου ἐνάτης πρυτανείας ἢ Μητροφάνης Διονυσίου Ἀθμονεὺς ἐγγραμμάτευ
4 ἐν Ἀνθεστηριῶνος δεκάτῃ ὑστέραι, πρώτῃ τῆς πρυτανείας, ἐκκλησία κυρία ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ τῶν προέδρων ἐπ[εβήρι]

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 126.

²⁷ See above, pp. 17–18.

²⁸ See above, p. 17, n. 44.

²⁹ Published by I. Threpsiades *apud* K. Kourouniotes *Ἐλευσινιακά* 1 (1932): pp. 223–236 (with photograph), and re-published by P. Roussel, 1934: pp. 819–834. Corrections of the text of Threpsiades were also made by R. Vallois, *R.E.A.* 35 (1933): pp. 228–229.

³⁰ 21/0 is suggested by Notopoulos, *Hesperia* 18 (1949): p. 12, followed by O. Reinmuth, *Hesperia* 34 (1965): pp. 271–272, and B.C.H. 90 (1966): pp. 93–100. But this date is based on a tribal rotation of secretaries the existence of which is not attested for this time; see Dinsmoor, *Hesperia* 30 (1961): p. 194, note 40, with bibliography: there is no reason to favor 21/0 over 20/19, which was originally suggested by Dinsmoor.

- ζεν Μηνόφιλος Σατύρου Βερενικίδης καὶ συμπρόεδρο[ι·^{vvv}]
 Διό[τ]ιμος Διοδώρου Ἀλαιοὺς εἶπεν· ὑπὲρ ὧν οἱ καταστα[θέν]
 8 τες ἄνδρες ὑπὸ τοῦ Κηρύκων γένους μετὰ τοῦ ἐπὶ βωμοῦ[υ] ἰε[ρ]
 ρέως Ἐπικράτους τοῦ Καλλιμάχου Λευκονοέως καὶ τοῦ πυ[ρ]
 φόρου καὶ ἱερέως τῶν Χαρίτων καὶ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος τῆς Ἐπιπ[υρ]
 γιδίας Λεοντίου τοῦ Τιμάρχου Κηφ[ι]σιεύς, καὶ τοῦ Κήρυκος
 12 ταῖν θεαῖν Διονυσίου τοῦ Δημοστράτου Παλληνέως, καὶ τοῦ
 παναγοῦς κήρυκος Θεοφίλου τοῦ Μεγεκράτους Χολλείδου, κ[αί]
 τοῦ ἱερέως τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ τοῦ Πατρώου καὶ κήρυκος τοῦ Ἀπόλλων[ος]
 τοῦ Πυθίου Γοργίππου τοῦ Εὐδήμου Μελιτέως, καὶ τοῦ λιθοφόρου
 16 τοῦ ἱεροῦ λίθου καὶ ἱερέως Διὸς Ὀρίου καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς Ὀρίας καὶ Πο
 σειδῶνος Προσ[β]α[σ]τήριου καὶ Ποσειδῶνος Θεμελιούχου
 Δωσιθέου τοῦ Κλεομένου Μαραθωνίου, καὶ τῶν Ὑμναγωγῶν
 Ἀριστοδήμου τοῦ Ἀργείου Τρικορυσίου, Μεννέου) Ἀζηνιεύς, Φιλ[ή]
 20 μονος) Μελιτέως, Διότ[ι]μος Διοδώρου Ἀλαιοὺς, Ἀπόλλης
 Ἀπελλικῶντος ἐξ Οἴου, Δημοχάρης Μενάνδρου Ἀζηνιεύς, Σαρ[α]
 πίων καὶ Διοκλῆς οἱ Διοκλέους Μελιτεῖς, Ἀρχίτιμος) Σφῆττιο[ς],
 Θεμιστοκλῆς Ξενοκλέους Ἀγνούσιος, Διονυσόδωρος) Δειρα[δι]
 24 ώτης, Κιχησίας Λέωντος Αἰξωνεύς, Ἀπολλώνιος Κτησικλέου[ς]
 Ἀχα[ρ]νεύς, Δημόστρατος Διονυσίου Παλληνεύς, Τιμοσθένης Τι^v
 μάρχο[υ] Κηφ[ι]σιεύς, Μενάνδρος Δημοχάρους Ἀζηνιεύς, Ἀρίστ[αι]
 χ[μ]ος Ἀμμωνίου Ἀναφύστιος, Σοφοκλῆς Φιλώτου Σουνιεύς γ[ό]
 28 ρ[ω]ι δὲ Διονυσόδωρου Δειραδιώτου, Ἰοφῶν Διονυσόδωρου Δειρ[α]
 διώτης, Ἀλέξανδρος Ἀγαθοκλέους Λευκονοεύς, Εὐφρων) Μαρ[α]
 θώνιος, [Σ]έλευκος Δημέου Ἀλαιοὺς, Μικίων Φιλοκράτους Πειραιε[ύς],
 ποιησάμενοι πρὸς τὸν δῆμον πρόσδοον ἐμφανίζουσιν τὸν δα[ι]
 32 δοῦχον Θεμιστοκλῆν δαιδούχου Θεοφράστου Ἀγνούσιον ἀρετῇ
 κα[ί] εὐγ[ε]νεῖα διαφέροντα μὴ μόνον τὸν ἑαυτοῦ βίον παρέχεσθαι
 π[λ]είστης ἀξίον τιμῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ περὶ τὴν δαιδουχίαν ὑπεροχῇ[ι]
 τὸ σεμνὸν καὶ τ[ε]ίμιον τῶν ἱερῶν ἐπαύξειν, ἐξ ὧν τὸ περὶ τὰ μν
 36 στήρια μεγαλοπρεπὲς περιττοτέρας ἐκπλήξεως ὑπὸ παντὸς
 ἀνθρώπου καὶ τοῦ προσήκοντος ἀξιούται κόσμου, παρελθόντα
 τὴν εὐ[γ]ένειαν καὶ τὴν ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἱερωσύνην ἐγ διαδοχῆς παρὰ
 τοῦ πατρὸς Θεοφράστου καὶ τοῦ πάππου Θεμιστοκλέους καὶ Σοφ[ο]
 40 [κλ]έους, ὃς ἦν τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ θεῖος, καὶ Ξενοκλέους τοῦ ἐπιπά[π]
 που, ὃς ἦν ἀδελφὸς μὲν Λεοντίου θεῖος δὲ Σοφοκλέους τῶν γεν[ο]
 μένων ἱερέων ἐπὶ βωμοῦ, καὶ Φιλοξενίδου τοῦ γενομένου μὲν πρ[ό]
 τερο[ν] ἱερέως ἐπὶ βωμοῦ μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα δαιδούχου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ[υ]
 44 Κηφ[ι]σιοδώρου τοῦ ἐπὶ βωμοῦ ἱερέως, ὃς ἦν πρὸς ἀνδρῶν ἐπίπαπ
 [π]ος αὐτοῦ τῷ πατρὶ Θεοφράστῳ, καὶ Σοφοκλέους ὃς πρὸς μητρ[ός]
 ἦν ἐπίπαππος αὐτῷ, καὶ Φιλιτίδου, ὃς ἦν πατήρ μὲν Φιλοξενίδου κ[αί]
 [Κ]ηφ[ι]σιοδώρου ἐπίπαππος δὲ Θεμιστοκλέους τοῦ πάππου αὐτοῦ, δ[ς]
 48 γ[ε]νηθεὶς ἱερεὺς ἐπὶ βωμοῦ μεταπαρέλαβεν ἐπιφανέστατα τὴν δ[αι]
 [ι]δουχίαν, καὶ Ἀντιφῶντος, ὃς ἦν μὲν ἐξ ἀνεψιῶν παίδων γεγωνὺς [Φι]
 λιστίδῃ κατασχὼν δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς τὴν ἐπὶ βωμοῦ ἱερωσύνην μετα
 παρέλαβεν διασημότατα τὴν δαιδουχίαν, καὶ Λεοντίου τοῦ Σοφο
 52 κλέους μὲν πατρὸς πάππου δὲ Ξενοκλέους τοῦ ἐπιπάππου αὐτοῦ[υ]—
 καὶ πρὸ τούτων ἀπάντων Ἑρμοτ[ε]ίμου τε καὶ Ἱεροκλείδου τῶν δα[ι]
 δουχισάντων πρὸ τῆς Κηρύκων ἀναγραφῆς εἰς τὸ γραμματεῖον^v
 γενηθέντες ἔκγονοι Σήμων καὶ Ἱεροκλείδης καὶ Ἀντιφῶν κατέ^{vv}
 56 σχον διὰ βίου τὴν ἐπὶ βωμοῦ ἱερωσύνην—ὧν ἕκαστος τῆς τε πρὸς
 τὰς θεὰς εὐσεβείας καὶ τῆς περὶ τὴν ἱεουργίαν σεμνότητος καὶ φ[ι]
 λотиμίας ἐμ πολλοῖς καὶ μεγάλοις ἀγῶσιν εἰς τὸ γένος ψηφισθεῖ
 σαι πολλάκις ὑπὸ τε τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου καὶ τοῦ γένους παρ'[ό]

- 60 λον τὸν καιρὸν τιμαὶ καὶ καθιερωμένοι παρὰ ταῖς θεαῖς αὐταῖς ἰκό
 [ν]ες ἐναργεῖς ἐστᾶσιν ἀποδίξις, πάντα δὲ πράττοντα τῆς τοῦ γέ
 [ν]ους αὐξήσεως ἔνεκα καὶ τῶν προσηκόντων τιμίῳ αὐτῷ τε καὶ ἐκ[ά]
 στῶι τῶν ἐκ τοῦ γένους ἱερέων, σπουδάζαντα περὶ τὴν τῶν πατρ[ι]
 64 ὦν ἐπίγνωσιν καὶ τὴν ἰδῆσιν ἐσχηκότα μὴ μόνον ἐκ τῆς περὶ τὴν ρ[ι]
 κίαν γεγονυίας ἐπὶ πολλὰς γενεὰς αὐτῷ δαιδουχίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ[ς]
 περ[ι] αὐτὸν φιλοτ[ε]ίμιας εἰς τὴν τῶν ἐκλειμμένων πατρίων ἀ[πό]
 κτησιν, ἐπιπεσούσης τῆς περὶ τὰς ἀπογραφὰς ζητήσεως πολλὰ [καὶ]
 68 [μ]ε[γ]άλα διαπεπράχθαι ἐξ [...] ΤΟΤ[...] τὴν προσήκουσαν [...]

SIGNIFICANT CORRECTIONS

Restorations are by Kourouniotes except for one of my own (see below) and the following by Roussel: ἐνάτης end of line 2, καταστα[θέν]τες lines 7-8, [τὸ] σεμνόν (with Vallois) line 35 (now confirmed), [παρ'] ὅλ[ον] lines 59-60 (now confirmed except for division); in addition, he read in lines 54-55 γραμματεῖον γενηθέντες ἔκγονοι Σήμων κτλ. (now confirmed) instead of Kourouniotes' γραμματεῖον [οἰ] γενηθέντες ἔκγονοις ἡμῶν κτλ. In line 17 he and Vallois read Προσβατηρίου, but the fifth letter as inscribed is definitely a rho. In lines 26-27 Kourouniotes read Ἀρίστ[αρ]χος and Roussel Ἀρίστ[ό]μαχος, neither of which is possible; the correct name is Ἀρίστ[α]ρχ[ος]. Sundwall (*N.P.A.*, p. 12) gives a stemma of this family, and the only known member of it who appears appropriate for Aristaechmus's father is the Ammonius son of Demetrius who was ephebe in 80/79.³¹

It should also be noted that in some of the names and words formed from -τιμ- and in Κηφισόδωρος and Κηφισιεύς, εἰ was written and then the ε was erased. This erasure is in fact so regular that it has to be restored in line 44 where there is space for it. Toward the end of the document (lines 60-64) the letterer overcompensated for this bad habit by not inscribing a correct epsilon in three words.

DISCUSSION

The decree corrects earlier theories concerning the manner by which daduchs were appointed. There were three main theories. Foucart³² held that they were appointed from the *genos* by lot from a very limited number of candidates, Toepffer³³ held that on the death of the incumbent the oldest member of the

family succeeded, and Dittenberger³⁴ held that the *dadouchia* was inherited "by generations," as in the priesthood of Poseidon at Halicarnassus.³⁵ According to our decree, Themistocles "received the priesthood in succession (παρειληφότα τὴν ἱερωσύνην ἐγ διαδοχῆς)." It was, therefore, certainly not allotted. The stemma (see below, p. 58) shows that it passed several times from father to son: from Philistides of Hagnous to his son; from Leontius (no. 7) of Acharnae to his son, grandson, and great-grandson; and from Themistocles (no. 14) of Hagnous to his son and grandson. However, only in the case of Themistocles (no. 14) and his son and grandson, and in one other case of a father and son,³⁶ was there no intervening incumbent between father and son; that is, in most cases father and son did not succeed one another directly. Philistides of Hagnous intervened between Leontius (no. 7) of Acharnae and his son; and Philistides' son intervened between Leontius's son and grandson. In other words, for the first six members in this line of succession the office passed back and forth between these two families, the family from Hagnous and the family from Acharnae. The seventh member of the succession (who was of the family from Acharnae) was the son of the sixth, but after him only two more descendants of the family from Acharnae appear in our sources, neither of whom are daduchs. The *dadouchia* then reverted to the family from Hagnous and remained there, passing directly from father to son, for four generations.³⁷ (It also happened that the two families were joined by a marriage-tie in the same generation that the *dadouchia* reverted permanently to the family from Hagnous, but it is not known whether the families were previously related.) Thus

³¹ *I.G.*, II², 1039, fragment *w*, line 23; for the date see Noto-

poulos, *Hesperia* 18 (1949): pp. 24-25.

³² 1914: pp. 168-169, 192-193. This is based on a statement attributed to Aristotle (see below).

³³ 1889: pp. 89-90.

³⁴ *Hermes* 20 (1885): pp. 24-25.

³⁵ *S.I.G.*³, 1020.

³⁶ Xenocles and Sophocles (III) of Acharnae.

³⁷ The discrepancy between this number and the five generations appearing on Kirchner's stemma, *I.G.*, II², 3510, is explained below.

it appears that at this time the succession was normally inherited from father to son, but, at least at this time, two families were involved. The reason for the rotation from one family to the other in a particular case is not known with certainty; a workable hypothesis is that it had something to do with seniority.³⁸ If the son of the incumbent daduch was not old enough when his father died, or was not as old as a suitable descendant of a daduch of the other family, or was otherwise unqualified, he would be passed over in favor of the candidate from the other family. But when the one family died out (if that is what happened), the *dadouchia* remained in the other family, there evidently being no longer any need to rotate the office with another family. As long as the two families were capable of providing candidates, there probably was an understanding between them that the most suitable (often perhaps the oldest) candidate available from either family would succeed to the office; but when, as it seems, the family from Acharnae could no longer provide candidates, the office naturally remained solely within the domain of the family from Hagnous. And then no other Kerykes' family gained access to the office until four generations passed, after which time it became the exclusive prerogative of a different family, whose deme was Melite. The connection of this new family with the family from Acharnae is not entirely clear (see below, p. 58).

A statement has been attributed to Aristotle (*Ath. Pol.*, fragment 5, ed. Oppermann) that priesthoods belonging to the *genos* of the Kerykes were appointed by lot.³⁹ However, it is not completely certain that it was he who said this. The statement occurs in the entry for *γεννῆται* in the *Lexicon of Patmos*. The entry first describes the pre-Cleisthenic system of *phylai* and *gene*, and concludes with: *καὶ γένος ἕκαστον ἄνδρας εἶχε τριάκοντα τοὺς εἰς τὰ γένη τεταγμένους, οἵτινες γεννῆται ἐκαλοῦντο, (ἐξ) ὧν αἱ ἱερωσύναι (αἱ) ἑκάστοις προσήκουσαι ἐκκληροῦντο, οἷον Εὐμολπίδαι καὶ Κήρυκες καὶ Ἐτεοβουτᾶδαι, ὡς ἱστορεῖ ἐν τῇ Ἀθηναίων πολιτείᾳ Ἀριστοτέλης λέγων οὕτως*, and here follows what is intended as a direct quotation from Aristotle. This quotation gives essentially the same information as was given in the preceding description but without any mention of priesthoods or their manner of appointment. So the statement that gentile priesthoods were appointed by lot may come from a different source. If indeed it is from Aristotle, it would have to apply, in the case of daduchs, only to the period before or around his time; for the lot was certainly no longer the principle of selection of daduchs and, as it seems, of hierophants by the end of the third century. It is possible that the statement refers to lesser priests from these *gene*.

5. Ἑρμοτίμος. Decree for Themistocles, above, line 53. In office sometime before the end of the third century.

The decree honoring Themistocles mentions that, before the ten daduchs who succeeded one another, Hermotimus and Hierocleides served as daduchs, but does not make clear the relation of these to the ten, either whether they were of the same families as the ten, or whether they directly preceded the ten, or even whether they directly succeeded one another. Nor can one be sure that Hermotimus preceded Hierocleides. Since the first of the ten successive daduchs, Leontius, has his *akme* around the end of the third century, Hermotimus and Hierocleides can be assigned to before this time.

6. Ἱεροκλείδης. Above, p. 51, line 53. In office sometime before the end of the third century.

It is not known whether he came before or after Hermotimus.

7. Λέοντιος Ἀχαρνεύς. Above, p. 51, line 51; Pausanias, I, 37, 1. Stemma: below, p. 58. P.A., 9111. In office around the beginning of the second century.

It is not known whether he directly succeeded Hermotimus or Hierocleides, or whether other daduchs intervened. By a fault of transmission in the manuscript of Pausanias his name was changed to Λέων.

8. Ἀντιφῶν. Above, p. 51, lines 49–51. Stemma: below, p. 58. In office around the beginning of the second century, directly succeeding Leontius of Acharnae.

Antiphon was succeeded by Philistides of Hagnous. His relationship to Philistides is expressed in the inscription as follows: Ἀντιφῶντος, ὃς ἦν μὲν ἐξ ἀνεψίων παίδων γεγωνὸς Φιλιστίδῃ. Ἐξ ἀνεψίων παίδων has been variously interpreted. Threpsiades⁴⁰ understood it to mean that Antiphon was "the son of a first cousin" of Philistides, and Roussel's⁴¹ interpretation is that Antiphon was the son of a sister of Philistides. Roussel is certainly wrong, since ἀδελφίδους or παῖς ἀδελφῆς (or ἀδελφοῦ) are the only attested designations for "nephew" at this period. Threpsiades' interpretation also has difficulties. If Antiphon had been the son of a first cousin of Philistides, he would in all probability have been younger than Philistides, and yet he served as daduch before him. There is, however, a solution. A. R. Harrison has found that ἀνεψιός apparently can also mean "first cousin once removed," and accordingly παῖς ἀνεψιοῦ can mean "second cousin." He notes that in the speech of Isaeus *On the Estate of Hagnias* Theopompus describes himself

³⁸ Cf. Roussel, *op. cit.*, p. 831.

³⁹ See Foucart, *loc. cit.*

⁴⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 234.

⁴¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 830.

as a *παῖς ἀνεψιῶν* to Hagnias when in fact he was a son of a cousin of Hagnias's father, viz., a second cousin of Hagnias; and in the speech of Pseudo-Demosthenes *Against Macartatus* (49) *ἀνεψιός* is also used in the same way.⁴² Hence, our passage can be interpreted as stating that Antiphon was related to Philistides as a second cousin, without revealing whether on the paternal or maternal side. In this case Antiphon and Philistides would both be in the same generation, and so the unlikelihood that a man many years younger than Philistides was his predecessor in the *dadouchia* is removed.

Antiphon was altar-priest before becoming daduch, at which time he evidently relinquished the altar-priesthood. Others in his family (viz., Philistides and Philoxenides) followed the same course.

9. Φιλιστιδῆς Ἀγνούσιος. Above, p. 51, line 46. Stemma: below, p. 58. In office around the beginning of the second century, directly succeeding Antiphon.

Like Antiphon, he served first as altar-priest and then as daduch.

10. Σοφοκλῆς (I) Λεοντίου Ἀχαρνέως. Above, p. 51, lines 45 and 51; *I.G.*, II², 2452, line 7; Pausanias, I, 37, 1. Stemma: below, p. 58. In office in the first half of the second century, directly succeeding Philistides.

The name of this man is perhaps to be restored in a list of *bouleutai* of the tribe Oeneis, dated to the beginning of the second century⁴³; second in the list of Ἀχ[αρνεῖς] is Σοφο[----].

11. Φιλοξενίδης Φιλιστίδου Ἀγνούσιος. Above, p. 51, lines 42 and 46. Stemma: below, p. 58. In office around the third quarter of the second century, directly succeeding Sophocles.

Like his father, he served first as altar-priest and then as daduch. He may still have been daduch as late as around 125 B.C. (see below).

129/8

In this year a decree regulating some aspects of the cult of Apollo⁴⁴ ordained that the hierophant, the daduch, and οἱ μετὰ τοῦ ἱερωτῆ *κοντες*⁴⁵ should offer prayer

to Apollo at the Thargelia and march in the procession in his honor, along with many other Athenian priests and officials.

12. Ξενοκλῆς Σοφοκλέους (I) Ἀχαρνέως. Above, pp. 50–51, lines 40 and 52; *I.G.*, II², 2452, line 7; 1034, line 23; 3507; 3508; Pausanias, I, 37, 1; M. Thompson, *The New Style Silver Coinage of Athens* (New York, 1961), p. 577. *P.A.*, 11216. Stemma: below, p. 58. In office in the second century, probably within the last quarter, directly succeeding Philoxenides.

His father and his son were also daduchs. His daughter Acestorion was one of the weavers of Athena's robe (*I.G.*, II², 1034, line 23), and was the wife of the daduch Themistocles of Hagnous. His brother Leontius (II) was an altar-priest.

His name is inscribed in a list of distinguished Athenians (*I.G.*, II², 2452, line 7) set up around 125 B.C., but the title of daduch is not given next to his name, whereas the titles of the hierophants in this inscription are given. Either Xenocles was not yet a daduch, or it was not customary at this period to inscribe the daduch's title. In itself the latter possibility seems less likely, and the former is reinforced by the fact that Xenocles was most likely a mint-magistrate in 130/29, 127/6, and 124/2,⁴⁶ and up to now there has been no evidence that a daduch was able to undertake such a demanding civil magistracy while at the same time carrying out his duties as daduch; and on general grounds it does seem improbable that the co-administrator of the Eleusinian sanctuary would have had the time to carry out satisfactorily both administrative offices. The only noteworthy civic services rendered by previous known daduchs were those of the two Calliases, but their ambassadorial missions were naturally only of short duration, and their wartime services were of course in response to an emergency.⁴⁷

13. Σοφοκλῆς (III) Ξενοκλέους Ἀχαρνέως. Above, p. 51, line 39; *I.G.*, II², 3507 (= *Hesperia*, suppl. 8: p. 225) and 3508; *Fouilles de Delphes*, III, 2, 15, line 16; Pausanias, I, 37, 1. *P.A.*, 12830. Stemma: below, p. 58. In office in the first quarter of the first century B.C., directly succeeding his father Xenocles.

His wife Ctesicleia⁴⁸ (who was one of the weavers

⁴⁶ Thompson, *loc. cit.*

⁴⁷ See above, daduchs nos. 1 and 2.

⁴² A. R. Harrison, *The Law of Athens* (Oxford, 1968), pp. 143–144, and *C.R.* 61 (1947): pp. 41–43. Cf. W. Lacey, *The Family in Classical Greece* (Ithaca, 1968), pp. 38–39, especially p. 29, n. 82, where he takes the same view. L. Lepri, *Sui rapporti di parentela in diritto attico, saggi terminologici* (Milan, 1959), *Studi Senesi*, no. 3, p. 10, admits that *ἀνεψιός* was sometimes used as "cousin of a father."

⁴³ *Hesperia* 33 (1964): p. 212, no. 57, line 7.

⁴⁴ *S.E.G.*, XXI, 469, line 36.

⁴⁵ For these officials see above, p. 27, n. 115.

⁴⁸ According to Kirchner's stemma (ad *I.G.*, II², 3510) Ctesicleia was his cousin. However, there is no evidence that her father, Apollonius, was the brother of Xenocles, and Kirchner's assumption in *P.A.*, 1523 and *I.G.*, II², 3487 that her father was Apollonius son of Agenor [of Acharnae] contradicts this. Yet it is possible. A new fragment of *I.G.*, II², 3487 (see below, p. 92, n. 20) shows that the deme of the man in *I.G.*, II², 3487 is Erikeia, and so he is not to be associated with the present Ctesicleia.

of Athena's robe in 103)⁴⁹ erected two statues in honor of Sophocles as *δαδουχίσαντα*, i.e., after his death—if the *dadouchia* was a lifetime priesthood. That it was a lifetime priesthood is revealed by what seems to be a monument erected (perhaps) by Sophocles' sister Acestion, which is quoted by Pausanias: 'Ακεστίῳ δὲ τῇ Ξενοκλέους τοῦ Σοφοκλέους τοῦ Λεοντίου τούτους τε ἐς τὸν τέταρτον πρόγονον Λεόντιον δαδούχους πάντας ὑπῆρξε γενέσθαι (καὶ) παρὰ τὸν βίον τὸν αὐτῆς πρῶτον μὲν τὸν ἀδελφὸν Σοφοκλέα εἶδε δαδουχοῦντα, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτῳ τὸν ἄνδρα Θεμιστοκλέα, τελευτήσαντος δὲ καὶ τούτου Θεόφραστον τὸν παῖδα.⁵⁰ It is clear also that Sophocles was married while daduch.

The *terminus post quem* for the death of Sophocles is the Panathenaea of 103, at which time his future wife, Ctesicleia, was a weaver of Athena's robe and therefore unmarried.⁵¹ He was a pythaist at Delphi in 106/5.⁵²

No descendants of Sophocles or of the male line of his family are known. After his death the *dadouchia* was held successively by members of the family from Hagnous, starting with Sophocles' brother-in-law Themistocles.

14. Θεμιστοκλῆς Θεοφράστου Ἀγνούσιος. Above, pp. 51–52, lines 39, 47, 56–61; *Fouilles de Delphes*, III, 2, 13, line 10; M. Thompson, *op. cit.*, p. 568; *B.S.A.* 21 (1914–1916): p. 159, line 23 (= *I.G.*, II², 1036); Pausanias, I, 37, 1. *P.A.*, 6654. Stemma: below, p. 58. In office around the end of the first quarter of the first century, directly succeeding his brother-in-law Sophocles.

He married the sister of Sophocles, Acestion, who was a weaver of Athena's robe in 103⁵³; hence the marriage took place sometime after this. The passage in Pausanias clearly shows that he was married while a daduch. In 112/1 he was a mint magistrate as well as in 109/8 (with Theophrastus).⁵⁴ In 108/7 he

was very probably the agonothete of the Panathenaea,⁵⁵ and in 106/5 he was a *πυθαῖστος ἐκ Κηρύκων*.⁵⁶

His father Theophrastus was *hieropoios* for τὰ Ἀθήναια in 156/5,⁵⁷ and he may have been a mint magistrate in 169/8, 167/6, and 162/1.⁵⁸ He was never a daduch, perhaps because he was too young when an appointment was made and dead before the next one. It may be significant that he was not the son of a daduch.

When Themistocles died, he was succeeded by his son, grandson, and great-grandson. (His son's younger brother, Xenocles,⁵⁹ did not become daduch.) They could have been in each case senior to descendants of the family from Acharnae—a hypothesis that is supported by Kapetanopoulos's identification of two more members of this family: Ctesicles and Apollonius (II).⁶⁰ The name Ctesicles indicates that he was probably not the oldest son of Sophocles (III) and Ctesicleia; thus the chances are that he would be younger than Theophrastus (no. 15) and the same relation would exist between Apollonius (II) and Sophocles (IV).

15. Θεόφραστος Θεμιστοκλέους Ἀγνούσιος. Above, p. 51, lines 32 and 39; *I.G.*, II², 1961, line 19; 3510; 3511 (?); Pausanias, I, 37, 1; Pseudo-Plutarch, *Lives of the Ten Orators*, 843c. *P.A.*, 7169. In office in the first half of the first century before Christ, directly succeeding his father Themistocles.

According to the monument described by Pausanias⁶¹ he became daduch while his mother was still alive. Of his two sons the first-born, Themistocles, became daduch. Of Themistocles's two sons, again the first-born, Theophrastus, became daduch. This would tend to strengthen the hypothesis that seniority was a factor in the appointment. However, in a comparable case, that of Sophocles (I) of Acharnae who had two sons, the first-born, Leontius, became altar-priest while his younger brother Xenocles became daduch. The explanation for this may be that the

⁴⁹ *I.G.*, II², 1034, line 25.

⁵⁰ It is odd that she did not see her father also. Pausanias does not state that the above information about Acestion and her relatives is from a monument, but it seems reasonable to assume this; for he discusses other monuments at this point, and the literary form of this information is appropriate to a monument.

⁵¹ *I.G.*, II², 1034, line 25.

⁵² *Fouilles de Delphes*, *loc. cit.*

⁵³ *I.G.*, II², 1034, line 23.

⁵⁴ M. Thompson, *loc. cit.* This Theophrastus has usually been identified as the father of Themistocles (Thompson, *op. cit.*, p. 569, and *P.A.*, 7167). However, the father of Themistocles was *hieropoios* in 156/5 and so would be very old in 109/8, much too old, it would seem, to take on a civic office.

There was a Themistocles who was first mint magistrate in 149/8 (Thompson, *op. cit.*, p. 568), and the symbol chosen by him—"a trophy on a galley—points to the famous Themistocles." It is interesting that the family of Themistocles the daduch recorded that they were descendants of the famous Themistocles (on the monument described by Pausanias, I, 37, 1). They were not descendants in the male line because they were not of the same deme as the great Themistocles. Perhaps Themistocles, the mint magistrate of 149/8, was a brother of Theophrastus the father of the daduch, and Theophrastus, the mint magistrate of

109/8, was the son of the mint magistrate of 149/8. The evidence is not strong enough to include them in the stemma (below, p. 58), but the possibility that they should be included makes it advisable not to use Roman numerals after the names of Themistocles and Theophrastus in the stemma.

⁵⁵ In the photograph of *I.G.*, II², 1036 (*B.S.A.*, *loc. cit.*), after Θεμιστοκλέους I think I can read . Ἀ[γνούσιου] would fit the lacuna perfectly.

⁵⁶ *Fouilles de Delphes*, *loc. cit.*

⁵⁷ *I.G.*, II², 1937, line 11.

⁵⁸ Thompson, p. 569.

⁵⁹ Attested above, p. 51, line 23. This identification has been made independently by E. Kapetanopoulos, *B.C.H.* 92 (1968): pp. 493–518, Stemma D. If seniority governed appointment to some extent, perhaps Xenocles died before Theophrastus (no. 15) became eligible. Two brothers, however, as far as is known, never held the *dadouchia*.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.* Apollonius son of Ctesicles of Acharnae appears in the decree for Themistocles, above, p. 51, lines 24–25.

⁶¹ Above, daduch no. 13.

first priesthood available to a son of Sophocles (I) was the altar-priesthood, which went to Leontius, the elder son, and the *dadouchia* went to his brother later, when it in turn became available.

16. Θεμιστοκλῆς Θεοφράστου Ἀγνούσιος. Above, p. 51, line 32; *I.G.*, II², 3509–3510; 3511 (?); 3283; 3536; 3928; 4042; 4175; 4176; Pseudo-Plutarch, *Lives of the Ten Orators*, 843c. *P.A.*, 6654. In office in the second half of the first century before Christ, directly succeeding his father Theophrastus; still in office in 20/19.

The decree of 20/19 in his honor is edited above (pp. 50–52). It has certain similarities with the decree of 152/1 honoring the hierophant Aristocles.⁶² In both cases a priest went beyond his normal duties in order to renew some of the *patria* that had fallen out of use. The daduch Themistocles' service can be translated as follows⁶³:

In unremitting activity for the greater glory of the *genos* and for the distinctions due to it and to each of the priests who are appointed from the *genos*, he has accomplished, in the investigation that occurred in connection with the *apographai*, many valuable services, after exerting himself zealously to discover the *patria*, a subject in which he had acquired expert knowledge not only from the ministry which had come to him after being the family priesthood for many generations but also from his noble effort for the *genos* toward the recovery of the *patria* which had become obsolete.

A phrase similar to *εἰς τὴν τῶν ἐκλελειμένων πατρίων ἀπόκτησιν* occurred in the decree honoring the hierophant Aristocles (lines 17–24), where we have more specific information than in the case of Themistocles as to which *patria* was renewed: *ἐκλελειμένων [δὲ πολλῶν θυσίων] . . . ἔθυσεν τε αὐτός*.

Aristocles performed at least two other acts of renewal for which he was thanked by his *genos*. One of them was the recording (*anagraphe*) of a "collection of initiation-fees." This was of course a different type of *anagraphe* from the one mentioned in line 54 of the Themistocles decree, which was evidently a record of all members of the Kerykes, composed, at the earliest, around the end of the third century (a later date for it is also possible, if at the time of the first recording all daduchs within memory were recorded). Examples of *anagraphai* of the Kerykes are preserved from the Roman period.⁶⁴

Themistocles put the knowledge he had acquired over the years about the *patria* to commendable use in connection with the investigation which took place concerning the *apographai* (*ἐπιπεσούσης τῆς περὶ τὰς ἀπογραφὰς ζητήσεως*). The nature of this investigation is not clear. The verb *ἐπιπίπτειν* does not appear anywhere else with the sense "to occur" as a judicial

investigation would "occur." The investigation or inquiry may actually have been less formal, from a source not connected with any civil body and coming in such a way as to "fall upon" them. Perhaps it had something to do with the intellectual interest at this time in acquiring *patria*.⁶⁵ Oliver suggests that the *apographai* were copies of the Exegetica, and that the *patria* referred to here were the section of the *πάτρια τῶν εὐπατριδῶν* concerning the *genos* of the Kerykes.⁶⁶

One other important accomplishment of Themistocles is mentioned in lines 33–36 of the decree: "he not only exhibits a manner of life worthy of the greatest honor but by the superiority of his service as daduch increases the solemnity and dignity of the cult; thereby the magnificence of the Mysteries is considered by all men to be of much greater excitement (*ἐκπληξίς*) and to have its proper adornment." Roussel⁶⁷ points out the importance of *ἐκπληξίς* in the Mysteries, citing Proclus, *Platonic Theology*, III, 18, p. 151 (ed. Portus): *ὥσπερ ἐν ταῖς ἀγιοτάταις τελεταῖς πρὸ τῶν μυστικῶν θεαμάτων ἐκπληξίς τῶν μουμένων*, and in reference to Eleusis, Aristides, *Eleusinian Oration*, 2 (ed. Keil): *πάντων ὅσα θεῖα ἀνθρώποις ταυτὸν φρικωδέστατον τε καὶ φαιδρότατον*.

According to Pseudo-Plutarch Themistocles "undertook also the priesthood of Poseidon Erechtheus,"⁶⁸ a priesthood which evidently did not belong to any one *genos*; Eteoboutadaei held it as well as Eumolpidae.⁶⁹

His family descended from the famous Themistocles.⁷⁰ His wife Nicostrate the daughter of Diocles of Melite was a descendant of the famous Lycurgus and a great-granddaughter of Medeius the exegete of the Eumolpidae.⁷¹

In addition to the decree of 20/19, the Demos also honored him by erecting a monument bearing statues of himself (in the center), his brother Sophocles (on his left), and one other man (on his right).⁷² Kirchner, however, assigns this monument not to him but to a hypothetical grandson, Themistocles III, and postulates a Sophocles V as his brother and a Diocles as his son. Roussel correctly recognized that all the testimonia Kirchner cites for these three men can be assigned without any difficulty to Kirchner's Themistocles II, Sophocles IV, and Diocles the son of Themistocles II.⁷³ Moreover, Kirchner's stemma gets into difficulty in regard to the hypothetical second Diocles, because it assigns his *akme* to around

⁶⁵ Cf. Oliver, *Expounders*, pp. 51–52.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, n. 33.

⁶⁷ *Op. cit.*, pp. 833–834.

⁶⁸ Toepffer (1889: p. 126) wrongly assumed Diocles to be the subject of this sentence.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 125–127.

⁷⁰ Pausanias, I, 37, 1.

⁷¹ Pseudo-Plutarch, *loc. cit.* For the stemma of this family see *P.A.*, II, p. 82 and Kapetanopoulos, *op. cit.*, Stemma D.

⁷² *I.G.*, II², 3510. This inscription is connected with *I.G.*, II², 3509 below, and the other man is identified.

⁷³ *Op. cit.*, p. 832, n. 3.

⁶² Hierophant no. 11.

⁶³ Translation by Oliver, *Expounders*, p. 50.

⁶⁴ See Geagan, 1967: pp. 163–186.

60 A.D. whereas all datable epigraphical references to him are much earlier (41–44), and in one of these inscriptions he was hoplite general for the second or subsequent time.⁷⁴ The *akme* for the first Diocles, since he was younger than Theophrastus, should actually be placed somewhat later than “around 6 B.C.,” and so he can be regarded as a man of mature years when he appears in the early Claudian dedications. Therefore, nothing precludes assigning *I.G.*, II², 3510 to Themistocles II.⁷⁵

This daduch's brother, Sophocles, was an ephebe around 37/6.⁷⁶ If seniority and heredity were factors in the appointment to the *dadouchia* at this time, he must have died fairly young or was otherwise unqualified. However, up to this point, there has been no evidence that two brothers ever held the *dadouchia*, though this did happen once in the *hierophantia* (see Aristocles and Amynomachus).

Themistocles would have been the daduch who officiated at Augustus' initiation (*epopteia*) in 19 B.C.⁷⁷

17. Θεόφραστος Θεμιστοκλέους Ἀγνούσιος. *I.G.*, II², 3509+3510; Pseudo-Plutarch, *Lives of the Ten Orators*, 843c. *P.A.*, 7170. Stemma: below, p. 58. In office around the end of the first century before Christ.

The evidence, previously offered, that he was a daduch is inconclusive. It has already been seen that there is some doubt that he is the same as the Theophrastus in *I.G.*, II², 3510, lines 9 and 14. And since Pseudo-Plutarch does not say whether he was a daduch, we are left with Theophrastus the daduch in *I.G.*, II², 3509, but as this inscription now stands one cannot be sure that Theophrastus the son of daduch no. 16 is meant. From the text, it looks as if *I.G.*, II², 3509 might be the left portion of 3510, which is now lost. At my request Professor Günther Klaffenbach compared the squeezes of these two inscriptions and wrote that there is not the slightest doubt that they belong together, the lettering being absolutely identical in height and in form. The left hand side of 3509+3510 should now read:

[ὁ δὴ]μος
[δαιδοῦχον Θεόφρ]αστο[ν δαιδού]χον
[Θεμιστοκλέ]ους [Ἀ]γνούσι[ων ἀρετῇ]ς ἔ-
[νεκα καὶ εὐ]νοίας τῆς εἰς [ἐαυτὸν καὶ] τῆς
[πρὸς τὰς θεᾶ]ς εὐσεβείας Δῆ[μητρι καὶ Κ]όρηι
ἀνέθηκεν

Considering the fame of Themistocles (no. 16) which

⁷⁴ *I.G.*, II², 4175 and 4176 (=Oliver, *Hesperia* 35 [1966]: pp. 150–153). Other inscriptions in which he is mentioned are: *I.G.*, II², 3283; 3536; 3928; 4042.

⁷⁵ It is unknown which Themistocles and which Theophrastus are referred to in *I.G.*, II², 3511, a dedication in honor of a hearth-initiate.

⁷⁶ *I.G.*, II², 1961, line 19 (=S.E.G., XXII, 113).

⁷⁷ For his initiation see Graindor, 1927: pp. 14–23.

is evident in the decree of 20/19 I suggest that he was honored again shortly after his death by a monument in which his statue took the central position of honor, receiving a more elaborate inscription than the statues of the men who flanked him: on his left his son Theophrastus, the current daduch, and on his right his brother Sophocles, with a strikingly abbreviated inscription.

Hieronymy was not observed at this time, nor was it shortly before, in 20/19.

A fragment of a statue base with an inscription very similar in wording and disposition of lines to *I.G.*, II², 3509+3510 is published in *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.* 1971: pp. 130–1, no. 26.

38/9

T. Statilius Lamprias, according to a dedication set up in Epidaurus probably in the year 38/9,⁷⁸ was related to the *genos* of the Kerykes at Athens⁷⁹: ἀπὸ μὲν γε Ἀθηνῶν τὸ ἐνδοξότατον Κηρύκων γένος, ἀφ' οὗ δαδουχοῦσιν οἱ εὐγενέστατοι, εἰς τὸν θεῖον αὐτοῦ παραγέγονεν καὶ δι' ἐκείνου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συγγενῶν εἰς τοῦτον. Whether this uncle is the same as the uncle Aristocrates of Sparta mentioned further on in this text (line 17) is not clear.⁸⁰ Lamprias was also distantly related to hierophantic families.

18. Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος Λεωνίδης Μελιτεῦς. *I.G.*, II², 2342, line 2; 3609; 3610; 3612; 3614; 3615; *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.* 1971: pp. 119–120, no. 15; *Hesperia* 26 (1957): pp. 219–220, no. 76 (= *I.G.*, III, 990 = S.E.G., XVII, 72). Kapetanopoulos, *B.C.H.* 92 (1968): p. 504, no. 33. Stemmata: Kirchner *ad I.G.*, II², 3609, revised by Oliver, *Expounders*, p. 80; Woloch, *Historia* 18 (1969): p. 510; and Kapetanopoulos, *op. cit.*, stemmata B and C. In office in the second half of the first century A.D.

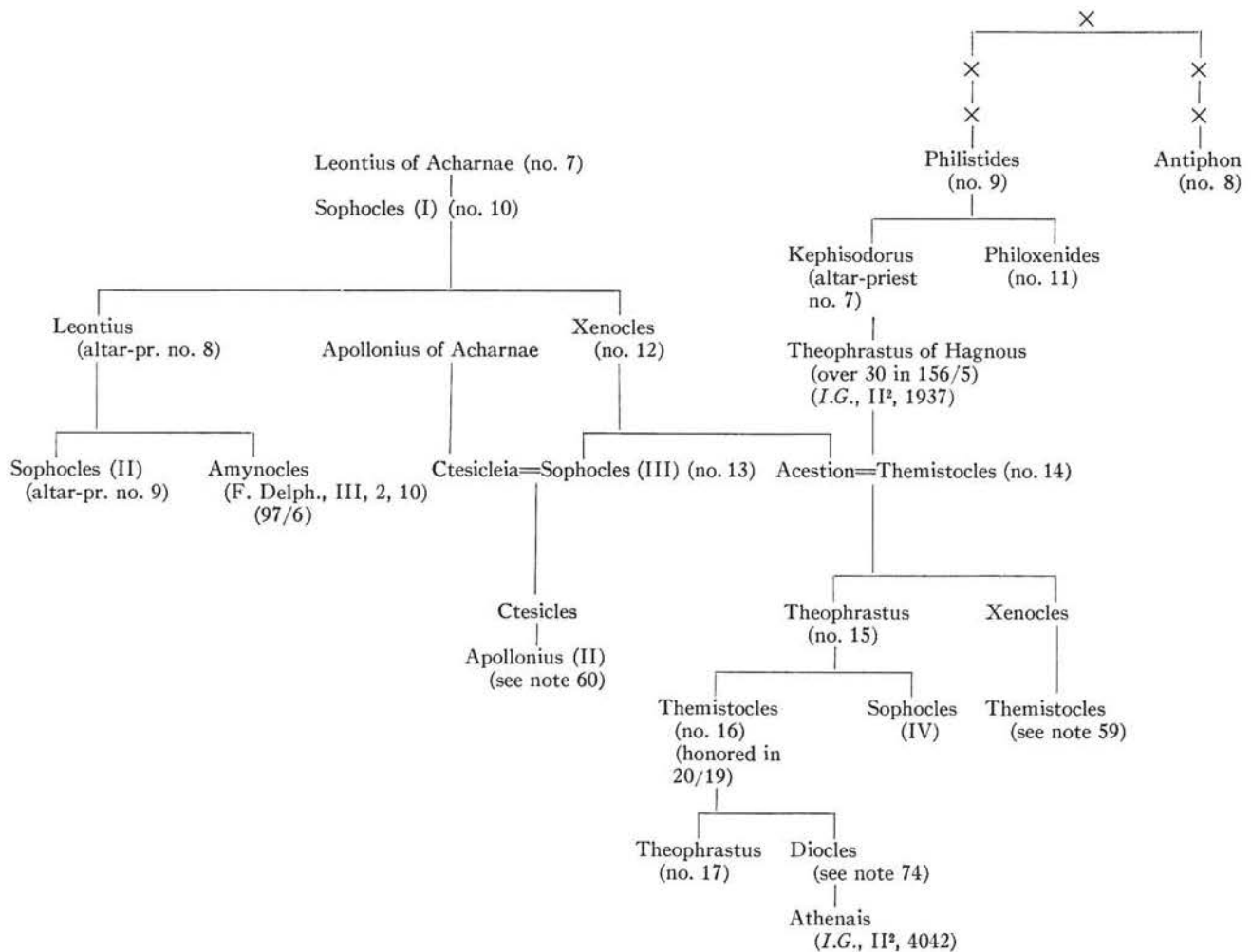
He belonged to the family of the Claudii of Melite, a very distinguished Kerykes family which controlled the *dadouchia* almost continuously throughout the first two centuries after Christ. In the stemma of this family his *akme* is assigned to the middle of the first century. In all epigraphical sources he is mentioned as an ancestor of the person honored in each case, except in *Hesperia* 26 (1957): pp. 219–220, no. 76, which is a herm erected in his honor by an otherwise unknown Artemidorus. In *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.* 1971, *loc. cit.*, and *I.G.*, II², 3612 he is mentioned as the grandfather of the person honored; in *I.G.*, II², 3609, 3610, 3614,

⁷⁸ See above, p. 29, n. 123.

⁷⁹ *I.G.*, IV², 86, lines 10–12; a new text is edited by W. Peek, *Inchriften aus dem Asklepieion von Epidaurus* (Berlin, 1969), p. 30.

⁸⁰ Hiller's stemma (*I.G.*, IV², Prolegomena, p. xxxi) shows this man to be related to two members of the Athenian delegation sent to console Lamprias' parents, and the members of the delegation to be members of the *genos* of the Kerykes. There is no evidence for either connection.

TABLE 1
STEMMA OF DADUCHIC FAMILIES OF THE FIRST AND SECOND CENTURIES B.C.



and probably 3615, as the great-grandfather. In each case the dedicator seems to have made an effort to name all ancestors of the dedicatee who were daduchs. Hence we can infer with some confidence that Claudius Leonides of Melite was the first daduch of this great daduchic family of this period.

His relationship to the family of daduchs just discussed, from Hagnous, is unclear. Certainly one more person served as daduch between the incumbencies of Theophrastus of Hagnous (no. 17) and Claudius Leonides of Melite; thus Kirchner's postulation of a Themistocles the son of no. 17 may be correct after all, though no direct evidence for it exists. Support for intermarriage between the two families at this time might be found in the fact that a son of Leonides was named Themistocles.⁸¹

⁸¹ For the latter see Kapetanopoulos, *op. cit.*, no. 27. This was suggested by Roussel, who, however, hesitated to supply a link for lack of evidence. Kapetanopoulos (*op. cit.*, pp. 495-496 and 500, no. 26), like Kirchner, postulates a Themistocles the son of

The known history of this family is thought to extend at least as far back as the first half of the second century before Christ (see stemma B of Kapetanopoulos, *op. cit.*).⁸²

no. 17, and suggests, on p. 496, that Leonides married his daughter or the daughter of Diocles, while on p. 501 he states that Leonides "must have married also a daughter of Themistokles IV, as observed above." Admittedly one of these possibilities may turn out to be correct, but I think we should either refrain from putting this hypothetical Themistocles into a stemma or indicate in the stemma that he is hypothetical, until there is more evidence than just identical names in different families. It should be noted that the family from Melite claimed to be descended from Pericles, Conon, and Alexander (*I.G.*, II², 3679), whereas the family from Hagnous apparently claimed to be descended from Themistocles (Pausanias, I, 37, 1 and see above, n. 54).

⁸² However it depends at one point on a hypothetical link, Lysiades (Kapetanopoulos, *op. cit.*, no. 37), but this man's patronymic or demotic is nowhere preserved. The main evidence is the occurrence of identical names in two families and is therefore hypothetical.

19. Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος Λυσιάδης Τιβ Κλ Λεωνίδου Μελιτεύς. *I.G.*, II², 3609, 3610; 3611; 3616; 1736, lines 12–13 (?); 'Αρχ. 'Εφ. 1971: pp. 119–120, no. 15 (= *I.G.*, II², 4084 + 4087 + new fragment). Oliver, *Expounders*, pp. 79–81. Woloch, 1966: Claudius no. 62. For the stemma see under no. 18. In office from the end of the first century to some time in the reign of Hadrian or later. He succeeded his father.

If his name is correctly restored in *I.G.*, II², 1736, lines 12–13, he was at one time herald of the Areopagus. The confusion of him with Lysiades the high-priest was corrected by Oliver, whose correction is now confirmed by the inscription published in 'Αρχ. 'Εφ., *loc. cit.* His daughter Aelia Cephisodora married Julius Theodotus the sophist. Her change of nomen, as Oliver pointed out,⁸³ "indicates a compliment which her father rendered to the emperor Hadrian during the emperor's lifetime."

Kapetanopoulos⁸⁴ believes that "chronological considerations make Lysiades too old to be the father of Cephisodora, for by A.D. 110–120 he was a grandfather." He suggests the possibility of a second marriage in which Cephisodora was born "about A.D. 130." A second marriage is indeed one solution. It is also possible that Cephisodora was born earlier, around 120; in this case she would have been about the same age as her husband Theodotus, even though this was not customary. Theodotus held the sophistic chair for two years starting in 173 or 174,⁸⁵ and according to Philostratus was over fifty when he died, which presumably means not over sixty. On this evidence we would not be justified in placing his birth before 115. The dates for Cephisodora's father Lysiades could then be ca. 60–70 to ca. 130 and for her brother Sospis ca. 90–100 to ca. 150, so that Cephisodora need not have been born from a second marriage. Her grandfather Leonides' span could be ca. 33 to ca. 100. The sons of Sospis, Lysiades and Demostratus, were perhaps born respectively ca. 110 and ca. 120.

20. Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος Σώσπις Τιβ Κλ Λυσιάδου Μελιτεύς. *I.G.*, II², 2342, lines 11, 21–22; 3609; 3610; 3981⁸⁶; 'Αρχ. 'Εφ. 1971: pp. 119–120, no. 15 (= *I.G.*, II², 4084 + 4087 + new fragment). For the stemma see under no. 18. In office from some time during the reign of Hadrian or later to ca. 150. He succeeded his father Lysiades. For a suggested birth date of ca. 90–100 see above.

He appears as a relative in all epigraphical sources. When the dedication published in 'Αρχ. 'Εφ. 1971,

loc. cit., was erected to his sister Aelia Cephisodora, he was already dead (δαδουχῆσας).⁸⁷

It is interesting that on this base honoring Aelia Cephisodora no living daduch is mentioned as a relative. Since it was a mark of distinction to have an Eleusinian priest as one's relative, as so many dedications of the second and third centuries bear witness in addition to the present one, where the dedicators listed all previous daduchs related to Cephisodora, we may conclude with some probability that the contemporary daduch was not related to her. This is reinforced by prosopographical information concerning the individual members of this family at this time and by the names of those who at this time were daduchs. Of Sospis's three known sons, Lysiades, Leonides, and Demostratus, apparently none was ever a daduch: his eldest son Lysiades was archon (around 130–138), panegyriarch, and imperial high-priest (from 138 to around 150)⁸⁸; Demostratus was archon (around 155–165) and was at the head of a faction opposed to Herodes Atticus⁸⁹; and about Leonides nothing is known beyond the fact that he was a brother of Demostratus and that his son was archon of the Sacred Gerousia ca. 192.⁹⁰ It appears that this family did not provide another daduch until Aelius Praxagoras, who was from another branch of the family and who became daduch sometime around 180 (see below). During this interval apparently unrelated daduchs served: the daduch Pom(peius) and P. Aelius Dionysius.

21. Πομ(πή)ος Δαδοῦχος. *I.G.*, II², 1769; 1773; 1774; 1775; 1776; 1781; *Hesperia* 11 (1942): p. 50, no. 18; *ibid.* 34 (1965): p. 97, no. 7. In office from ca. 150–160 to 169/70, perhaps longer, but no later than 174/5 (see table of *aeisitoi* in append. IV).

Hieronymy has effectively kept us ignorant of this man's full name. All testimonia for him except one are derived from *aeisitoi* lists, the exception being *Hesperia* 34 (1965): p. 97, no. 7, a prytany list, where a Πομ Δαδοῦχος occurs in the heading as archon in an unknown year.

I.G., II², 1769 and 1768 (= *Hesperia* 33 [1964]: p. 220, no. 65) are dated by Notopoulos⁹¹ to a single year shortly before 165. He restored [Πομπή]ος Δαδοῦχος in *I.G.*, II², 1769 on the basis of the indicated space

⁸⁷ Graindor's identification (1922: p. 137) of this man with the rhetor Sospis who appears in Plutarch's *Quaestiones Conviviales* (VIII, 4; IX, 5, 12, 13) is impossible; the rhetor is a Corinthian whose name is Antonius Sospis; see J. H. Kent, *Corinth*, VIII, 3, *The Inscriptions* (Princeton, 1966), nos. 170 and 226.

⁸⁸ Woloch, 1966: Claudius no. 64: *I.G.*, II², 3609; 3744; 2776, line 205; 4007. Cf. Graindor, 1922: pp. 135–137. A possible birth date of ca. 110 A.D. is suggested above under no. 19.

⁸⁹ Woloch, 1966: Claudius no. 45. For a possible birthdate of ca. 120 see above under no. 19.

⁹⁰ Woloch, 1966: Claudius no. 60. For the date see below, p. 63, note 127.

⁹¹ *Hesperia* 18 (1949): pp. 41–42.

⁸³ *Expounders*, p. 79.

⁸⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 506, no. 39.

⁸⁵ See Oliver, 1970: pp. 82–83.

⁸⁶ Cf. Oliver, *Expounders*, p. 75. The beginning of this inscription, as I have verified, should be restored to read: [... *τερέα* *του* Σω]τῆρος[ος] 'Ασ[κ]ληπιοῦ.

and the date; and if this is correct, [Πομπήιος] should be expected also in *I.G.*, II², 1768. These two inscriptions show a remarkable irregularity. Normally the order of the Eleusinian priests in the *aeisitoi* lists is: hierophant, daduch, sacred herald, and (if listed) altar-priest, i.e., in descending order from the office traditionally regarded as the most prestigious to the less prestigious. But here, in the same year, the order is in one case (1768): sacred herald, hierophant, and daduch; and in the other (1769): hierophant, sacred herald, daduch. It is discussed below (append. IV) that, while daduch and sacred herald sometimes change positions in these lists, the hierophant always comes first. This fact, which holds true otherwise, therefore calls the restoration of [ἱεροκ]ῆρυξ in 1768 into question. We should accordingly leave open the possibility that the restoration is rather [ἀντικ]ῆρυξ, the assistant of the κῆρυξ βουλῆς καὶ δήμου, who appears in *I.G.*, II², 1077, line 46, right after the herald of the Boule and Demos, just as perhaps here also. The [---]της in the following line could be the end of his demotic. In the other *aeisitoi* lists in which Πομπήιος) Δαδοῦχος appears the normal order of hierophant, daduch, and sacred herald was observed, except that he came last in the list of *I.G.*, II², 1769 (shortly before 165).⁹²

The hieronymous form of the name of this daduch or his predecessor can be restored in *I.G.*, II², 5186, erected after the year 138.

It is not impossible that this man's nomen was Pomponius. Only the abbreviation Πομπ appears, except for one case, *I.G.*, II², 1769, where [Πομπή]ιος is restored, but this stone is no longer available and so [Πομπόν]ιος cannot be excluded.

160-170

The position of the daduch in the Eleusinian endowment of this period (*I.G.*, II², 1092) and in the seating of the prohedria in the theater of Dionysus is discussed above (pp. 35-36).

22. Πόπλιος Αἴλιος Διονύσιος (Ἀντινοεύς). *I.G.*, II², 1782 (?); 1788 (?); 1794; (?) 3688 (with stemma). On the identification of his deme see below, p. 64. In office in 174/5; he took office after 169/70 but probably shortly before, or in, 174/5, and left it ca. 180-185.

The stemma compiled by Kirchner *ad I.G.*, II², 3688 gives his *akme* as ca. 144. He should probably be identified with the priest Aelius Dionysius who was the subject of a decision by Marcus Aurelius in 174/5:

[On appeal suits which] Aelius Praxagoras, Claudius Demonstratus, Aelius Themison brought against Aelius Dionysius: To be entitled--ought to hear, it was decided that it suffices that the elections when held at the right

time--of these men, I did not consider it necessary for him to undergo--what not at all at Athens--the following period of time in order that nothing be left ambiguous. Those voluntarily canvassing for a torch-bearership (*daidouchia*) or any other priesthood greater (?) than the one which they now hold must lay down beforehand, as ordained by law, the *strophion* (of their present priesthood). If a man is called [by] the demos, there will be no case against him if he does not lay down beforehand his former insignia before he gets the appointment; once elected, however, he too will lay down that which was formerly his.⁹³

As is clear from this, Aelius Dionysius did not lay down the *strophion* of his former priesthood as was required by law. The fact that Marcus singles out just one priesthood for mention, the *daidouchia*, strongly suggests that he is referring to this as the priesthood held by Aelius Dionysius,⁹⁴ and the fact that an Aelius Dionysius did serve as daduch around this time (as *I.G.*, II², 3688 informs us) makes this

⁹³ Oliver, 1970: p. 4, lines 1-7, and translation, pp. 28-29, with some modifications. L. Robert pointed out to Oliver *per litt.* that [διέ]ποντας is probably incorrect, and that *symbola* might well indicate insignia of office, in which case *strophion* would be appropriate in place of *trophion*; Oliver re-examined the stone and reported that the reading is indeed τ[ὸ] στρόφιον (see *R.E.G.* 84 [1971]: p. 427, no. 256). The sense, then, of the participle at the beginning of line 5 must be "assuming" or "receiving" or "being about to assume" or "being about to receive" or something similar. As a daduch was expected to hold his priesthood for life (and we know of no case where this was not so), Robert's suggested restoration (*loc. cit.*) of [ἀν]ποντας is probably incorrect. Better is the suggestion of C. P. Jones (*Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 8 [1971]: p. 165), which I have adopted: [με]τίοντας. Of his other suggestions for this sentence I have verified *ἔει* on the stone, and while the third letter of his με[ξ]ονα looks more like a mu than an iota, an iota is not impossible, and so I have incorporated his restoration in the translation, but with reservation. It seems to imply that there was a very precise order of precedence among Athenian priesthoods. How this could operate over longer periods, as the prestige of individual priesthoods rose and declined, that is, how the frequent alteration of the necessary list could be tolerated is a bit difficult to imagine. On the other hand, for particular cults protocol lists do survive, e.g., the Eleusinian Endowment (see above, pp. 35-36) and the first row of the prohedria in the Theater of Dionysus (see below, append. III), and so it is conceivable that one existed for all Athenian priesthoods. Yet one must ask what would be the purpose of such a list and of such a law as required by this restoration. Was it not also obligatory for priests who sought lesser priesthoods in place of or in addition to their own to "lay down their *strophion* beforehand"? If not, it would be strange to allow the incumbent of a "higher" priesthood to seek and, if successful, to hold a "lower" priesthood while not allowing the incumbent of a "lower" priesthood to do the same in respect to a "higher"; but if it was obligatory, that is, if it was not permitted of either type of priest to compete for any other priesthood without laying down his present *strophion*, why is μεξονα used when ἢ τινα ἐτέραν is sufficient?

If [με]τίοντας is the correct restoration, προκατατίθεσθαι may have a somewhat technical meaning; that is, it may refer to a practice whereby those canvassing for a priesthood would lay down the *strophion* of their present priesthood with the understanding that it would be returned to them if they were unsuccessful.

⁹⁴ We have to assume that in judicial decisions of this sort hieronymy was not used, understandably so, since there could be doubt in the future about which Αἴλιος Δαδοῦχος was meant.

⁹² Concerning the change of order see below, append. IV.

even more probable. It also appears to be no coincidence that at least two of his three accusers, Aelius Praxagoras and Claudius Demonstratus, were members of a family which had held this priesthood for a long time but lost it around the middle of this century, and Aelius Praxagoras was probably the immediate successor of Aelius Dionysius in this priesthood.⁹⁵ No definite information is available for the date of the end of Dionysius' priesthood; approximately 180–5 seems to be the best conjecture; the daduch Aelius mentioned in the *aeisitoi* lists (*I.G.*, II², 1782; 1788; 1794) could be Aelius Praxagoras.⁹⁶

I do not believe that even if one reads *ἐθελου[σίαν]* . . . *ἱερ[ε]ωσύνην*, as Oliver does, in the passage quoted above from the decision of Marcus Aurelius (and so translate: "Those canvassing for the torch-bearership or some other voluntary priesthood"), one is justified in saying, with Oliver,⁹⁷ that the opposite of a "voluntary" priesthood is an elected one, because I doubt very much that the present daduch obtained this highly desirable priesthood by simply volunteering for it. There undoubtedly were members of the daduchic family the Claudii of Melite⁹⁸ at this time who were interested in it, as is shown by the presence of two of them as accusers of Aelius Dionysius and the fact that one of these two later became a daduch. Surely at least someone from this family would have volunteered for it; and since election was the means of selecting a priest of the Kerykes at this time (as lines 10–15 of this same document indicate),⁹⁹ it seems best to conclude that an election was held also in the case of Dionysius. The opposite of "voluntary," therefore, seems to be *ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου καλεῖσθαι*,¹⁰⁰ which also involves an election, but in this case, on my interpretation, the candidate did not volunteer but was nominated. The contrast becomes clearer if instead of *ἐθελου[σίαν]* we restore *ἐθελου[σίως]*: *ἐθελουσίως μετιέναι* versus *ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου καλεῖσθαι*.

23. Αἴλιος Πραξαγόρας Θεμιστοκλέους Μελιτεύς. *Aeisitoi* lists: *I.G.*, II², 1782 (?); 1788 (?); 1794 (?); 1792; 1798. Other: *I.G.*, II², 2067; 2342, lines 5, 27; 3614; 3615; 3693; 3710; 4077; 4088; Oliver, 1970: no. 1, E, lines 1, 35, 41, 44, 50; append. V (= *I.G.*, II², 3713 + 4089 + 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1897: col. 60, no. 42). Woloch, 1966: Aelius no. 51. Stemma: see under daduch no. 18. In office from ca. 180–185 to 191 or 192.

Since his predecessor also had the nomen Aelius, it is difficult to determine which man is the Aelius in the *aeisitoi* lists in *I.G.*, II², 1782 (ca. 180),¹⁰¹ 1794

(ca. 180), and 1788 (174/5 or 187/8).¹⁰² Since Praxagoras was born ca. 115–120¹⁰³ and held the archonship in 154/5,¹⁰⁴ he was at least in his sixties in the early 180's when he most likely took office. The Αἴλιος Δαδοῦχος in the *aeisitoi* lists of *I.G.*, II², 1798 (190/1) and 1792 (191/2 or 192/3)¹⁰⁵ must be he since these years must be regarded as at the end of his tenure. Since his successor was in office before 193 (see below), we may date the end of his tenure to 191 or 192.

The civil offices he held included the archonship (*I.G.*, II², 3614; 3615;¹⁰⁶ 2067), *panegyriarchia* (*I.G.*, II², 3614¹⁰⁷; 3615), *agonothesia* of the [Greater Ascle]pieia (*I.G.*, II², 3614), and the *agonothesia* of the [Pan]ath[enaea] (*I.G.*, II², 3615).

With him, the *daduchia* returned to the family of the Claudii of Melite¹⁰⁸ after a lapse of about thirty years and at least two intervening daduchs from other families. He was the first cousin once removed of Claudius Sospis, the last daduch from this family. It is interesting that none of Sospis's sons became daduch. The domination of the Claudii of Melite in this office and their father-son succession for about seventy years abruptly ended, and about thirty years later, resumed.

At the time Sospis died, probably around 150, his son Lysides II was probably already the imperial high-priest; about his other son, Leonides II, we know nothing beyond the fact that he was his son; but his third son, Demonstratus (Woloch, 1966: Claudius no. 45) was very active and is well known. He was archon around 155–165¹⁰⁹ and a few years later (170–174)¹¹⁰ was one of the leaders of a political faction opposed to Herodes Atticus. Some of the activities of the faction are related by Philostratus.¹¹¹ Its other leaders were: M. Valerius Mamertinus, archon in 166/7¹¹² and hoplite general in 168/9,¹¹³ the sophist

¹⁰² For the date see below, append. IV.

¹⁰³ For the date see Woloch, *loc. cit.* and *Historia* 18 (1969): p. 510; and below, n. 108.

¹⁰⁴ *I.G.*, II², 2067.

¹⁰⁵ For the date see above p. 38, n. 200.

¹⁰⁶ The following restoration of lines 1–2 of this inscription is required by the sense and fits the space:

[νῖον Κλ Θεμιστοκλέ]ους
[Μελιτέως, ἐγγονον] Κλ Θε–

The name Aelius Praxagoras would have come in the previous line. I am not at all sure that fragment *b* belongs with this inscription, as its lettering seems slightly different, but this does not affect the restoration of line 8.

¹⁰⁷ The end of line 4 of *I.G.*, II², 3614 should read: [ἀρχή]ν κ[α]τέ[λ]ει.

¹⁰⁸ His nomen was changed to Aelius, probably by his father as a compliment to Hadrian. In one inscription erected well after his death he is referred to as Claudius Praxagoras (*I.G.*, II², 3710).
¹⁰⁹ *Hesperia* 11 (1942): p. 43, no. 12.

¹¹⁰ For the date see Oliver, 1970: pp. 66–84.

¹¹¹ Philostratus, *Lives of the Sophists* (ed. Kayser), pp. 63 67–9, 71, 73.

¹¹² *I.G.*, II², 1773.

¹¹³ *I.G.*, II², 1775 and Geagan, 1967: pp. 194–195.

⁹⁵ For discussion see below, pp. 61–63.

⁹⁶ For their dates see below, append. IV.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

⁹⁸ See above, p. 59.

⁹⁹ Cf. Oliver, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 4, lines 5–6.

¹⁰¹ Notopoulos (*Hesperia* 18 [1949]: pp. 1–57, table I) does not say why he assigns this to 177/8.

Julius Theodotus, who was Demostratus's uncle, and the later daduch Aelius Praxagoras, who was Demostratus's second cousin and father-in law. Philostratus describes the beginning of their activity against Herodes as follows¹¹⁴:

When these two men (the Quintilii) were both ruling Greece, the Athenians invited them to a meeting of the popular assembly. The Athenians shouted accusations of tyranny, pointing to Herodes and asking that their words be communicated to the ears of the emperor. The Quintilii felt some sympathy with the demos and without delay reported what they had heard. Herodes claimed that he was the victim of a plot on their part, that they were instilling suspicions against him into the Athenians. For it was after that meeting of the assembly that Demostratus and Praxagoras and Mamertinus and many others of their ilk, who opposed Herodes in city affairs, rose into action. Having indicted them as setting the demos against him, Herodes tried to lead them to the court in Rome, but they secretly made off to the emperor Marcus, confiding in his more democratic nature and in the opportunity (afforded by suspicions against the friends of Lucius Verus).

Even before he heard the case, the emperor, Philostratus relates, was already favorably disposed to Herodes' opponents, and at the hearing they won their case, according to Philostratus, through the combination of several factors: the influence they had with the empress and her daughter, Herodes' ill temperedness because of the very recent death of a freedman's two daughters for whom he had great affection, and Demostratus's fine speech. The emperor punished Herodes' freedmen (who were included in the indictment) but not Herodes, though he may have advised him to leave Athens for a while.

The newly discovered letter of Marcus Aurelius to the Athenians as it is interpreted by Oliver sheds considerable light on the animosity which the Athenians felt towards Herodes in this period.¹¹⁵ The most vocal opponents of Herodes, Demostratus, Praxagoras, and Mamertinus, are described by Philostratus as *εἰς τὸ ἀντίξουν τῷ Ἡρώδῃ πολιτεύοντες*. But their antagonism went further than politics. From the way certain important priesthoods were being appointed—and disputed—over a period of decades it appears that this too was involved. Up until the year 138 the imperial high-priesthood was hereditary in the male line of the Herodes' family. The obvious successor at this time would have been Herodes, but the man who got the office was Lysiades, Demostratus's brother. Herodes did not obtain it until 160, after yet another incumbent, Aelius Ardys.¹¹⁶ The change in office between Lysiades and Ardys seems to have taken place around the middle of the century.¹¹⁷ It

was also around this time that the *dadouchia* passed out of Demostratus's and Praxagoras's family, having been controlled by it for about seventy years, and went to a Pompeius (or Pomponius) and then to P. Aelius Dionysius of the deme Antinoeis, neither of whom appear to have been relatives. In 174/5 Praxagoras and Demostratus won a suit against the then daduch Aelius Dionysius (see above), and at the same time Mamertinus was denied his attempt to change from the Eumolpidae to the Kerykes and become a sacred herald; indeed, it appears that Mamertinus actually won the election for this priesthood but was not invested.¹¹⁸ Like Praxagoras and Demostratus Herodes belonged to the *genos* of the Kerykes,¹¹⁹ from which the daduchs were appointed and also from which many high-priests were drawn.¹²⁰ After Herodes' death, and after the death of Aelius Dionysius, the Claudii of Melite regained the *dadouchia* in the person of Praxagoras. Though we do not know exactly who the daduch Pompeius (or Pomponius) was or whether Aelius Ardys was a friend of Herodes,¹²¹ a pattern does emerge to some extent. A Claudius of Melite replaced Herodes' father as high-priest, but then the Claudii of Melite lost control of the *dadouchia* around the middle of the century, and Herodes obtained the high-priesthood around 160. The next daduch, challenged legally by two Claudii of Melite (the challenge perhaps extending even to the daduch's eligibility)¹²² at the same time that they were openly challenging Herodes, was probably a friend of Herodes.¹²³ The assembly in which the Athenians aired their feelings to the Quintilii about Herodes may well have been a welcome opportunity for the Claudii of Melite to move their opposition to Herodes from the level of the *genos* to an open challenge in the city: Philostratus says that at this time they "sprang up," *ἀνέβυσαν . . . ἐς τὸ ἀντίξουν τῷ Ἡρώδῃ πολιτεύοντες*. They went to Marcus Aurelius against Herodes, and then made a concerted attempt, perhaps taking advantage of Herodes' defeat at Sirmium, to obtain two of the highest priestships of the Kerykes, which apparently required Mamertinus's illegal change

Atticus's death was priest of Hadrian Panhellenius, and he may have been reluctant to hold the two priestships (Hadrian Panhellenius and high priest) concurrently." However, in his dissertation (1966: p. 176) he writes: "whether Herodes was also priest of Hadrian Panhellenius is unproven, but the writer believes that his refusal of the high priesthood at Athens may indicate that he was."

¹¹⁴ Oliver, *op. cit.*, p. 4, lines 7–15.

¹¹⁵ *I.G.*, XIV, 1389, lines 33–34.

¹²⁰ Oliver, *Expounders*, p. 98.

¹²¹ If the daduch was a Pomponius, he may have been one of the Pomponii who were related to Aelius Ardys (see *I.G.*, II², 3687), but then one would expect him to be mentioned in *I.G.*, II², 3687.

¹²² Line 2 of Marcus's letter seems to refer to a charge that a priestly election relating to Dionysius was not correctly conducted.

¹²³ So Oliver, 1970: p. 39.

¹¹⁴ *Lives of the Sophists*, pp. 67–69 (ed. Kayser); translation by Oliver, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

¹¹⁵ *Op. cit.*, especially chap. III, "Jealousy, War, Reform, and Innovation."

¹¹⁶ Woloch, 1966: Aelius no. 14. He was archon in 150/1.

¹¹⁷ For Ardys as succeeding Lysiades see Woloch, *Historia*, 18 (1969): p. 506. He suggests (*ibid.*) that "Herodes at the time of

of *genos*. Unsuccessful then, it was only after Herodes' death that they regained the *dadouchia*.

Another of Marcus's decisions, also, concerned Praxagoras and Herodes¹²⁴:

The appeal which Aelius Praxagoras made from (the *procurator hereditatum*)¹²⁵ Gavinius Saturninus: At the trial the so-called codicils in the (false) name of Pratolaus were produced and the investigation took place. (Praxagoras), it appears, was justified. . . . Praxagoras shall return into possession of these estates and shall receive from the *vir clarissimi* Quintilii an arbiter concerning the crops. As for the estates which were said to have been left to the *vir clarissimus* Herodes Atticus, to these he will already have returned. Concerning these crops Ingenius will judge. And if Praxagoras finds fault with the slowness of transfer, (an action) will be introduced by the provincial authorities.

The involvement of Praxagoras and Herodes seems to be incidental. As Oliver interprets the case,¹²⁶ somebody forged a testament leaving estates to three parties: his father, Herodes, and the city, Herodes and the city being included in the gift probably to strengthen the position of the father. After the will was proved to be a forgery, Praxagoras appealed to Marcus, who then decided that Praxagoras had a legitimate claim to the land.

24. Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος Φίλιππος Τιβ Κλ Δημοστράτου Μελιτεύς. *I.G.*, II², 1108 (= Oliver, 1941: nos. 24 and 25, and *Hesperia* 30 [1961]: pp. 231–234, no. 31); 1806; 2124; 2125; 2340 (= *S.E.G.*, XII, 140); 3693; 3710; 4088; below, append. V (= *I.G.*, II², 3713 + 4089 + 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1897: col. 60, no. 42). For the stemma see under no. 18. In office from 191 or 192 to ca. 197, succeeding Aelius Praxagoras.

The tenure of Philippus shows that the Claudii of Melite were able to maintain their control of this office after having regained it with Praxagoras, the maternal grandfather of Philippus.

While he was daduch, Philippus also held other distinguished offices. He was eponymous of the Sacred Gerousia in 191/1 or 192/3¹²⁷; he was archon in the year 193/4¹²⁸ and cosmète around 196.¹²⁹

His name is preserved on only one *aeisitoi* list, *I.G.*, II², 1806, datable to ca. 194. He is called hieronymously here and in a list of Kerykes of ca. 200 A.D. (*I.G.*, II², 2340) and when he was archon, cosmète, and

eponymos of the Sacred Gerousia (*loc. cit.*): Κλαύδιος Δαδούχος. Nevertheless, it is clear from the dedications listed above and the stemma that his real name was Philippus. In the dedications erected in honor of various descendants of his, he is always referred to as δαδονήσας, with his full name, signifying that he was already dead.

He did not serve as daduch very long; by around 197 another, a Pompeius, had succeeded him. Since his father was Demostratus, who was born around 120, it would appear unlikely that he was born much before the middle of the second century, and therefore he died relatively young, which is corroborated to some extent by the fact that he was already dead at the time two statue bases were dedicated to his two daughters as παῖδες ἀφ' ἐστίας (*I.G.*, II², 3693 and below, append. V).

Philippus apparently had no sons. The only other known descendant of the Claudii of Melite at this time was the Praxagoras of Melite who appears in the beginning of the third century on an ephebic list (*I.G.*, II², 2197) as gymnasiarch, agnothete of the Greater Severeia, and systemmatarch; the lacuna before his name here may have contained some priestly title, just as the other ephebic officials in the same inscription have *ιερεῖς* before their names (but he surely did not possess one of the major Eleusinian priesthoods since hieronymy was not observed). After Philippus the Claudii of Melite probably lost control of the *dadouchia*.

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Because of hieronymy the identity of the daduch Claudius mentioned in *I.G.*, II², 4094 is not known.

25. Πομπήιος Δαδούχος. *I.G.*, II², 1790 (= Oliver, *A.J.A.* 45 [1941]: p. 539); *Hesperia* 34 (1965): p. 97, no. 7. In office from ca. 197 to sometime before 208/9.

He follows the hierophant and sacred herald in an *aeisitoi* list (*I.G.*, II², 1790) whose proper place among the other *aeisitoi* lists would seem to be about 197.¹³⁰ He may be the daduch in the *aeisitoi* list of *I.G.*, II², 1789, in which case this list belongs in 204/5.¹³¹

Whether he is related to the daduch no. 21, Pom(peius) or Pom(ponius), is unknown. Nor is it known whether he or the daduch no. 21, Pom(peius) or Pom(ponius), was the daduch Pom(peius) who was archon at an unknown date (*Hesperia* 34 (1965): p. 97, no. 7).

26. Φάβιος Δαδούχος Μαπαθώνιος. *I.G.*, II², 1077; 2201; 3684; 4822. In office from 208/9 or earlier to 209/10 or later.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, Plaque E, lines 35–47; translation by Oliver, p. 30.

¹²⁵ See *ibid.*, p. 17.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 40–41.

¹²⁷ *I.G.*, II², 1108 and later editions cited above. A.D. 193 is the *terminus ante quem* for the erection of this stele because of the erasure of Commodus's name. Woloch's date (1966: p. 187) of 192—he argues that the stele was set up before 193 but after the death of Praxagoras—depends on the date of *I.G.*, II², 1792 as 192, but it has been shown above (p. 38, note 200) that 192 is only one possible date for this inscription; 191 is also possible.

¹²⁸ *I.G.*, II², 2125; for the date see Notopoulos, 1949: p. 30.

¹²⁹ *I.G.*, II², 2124; for the date see Notopoulos, 1949: p. 31.

¹³⁰ See append. IV.

¹³¹ See append. IV.

He was archon in 208/9 (*I.G.*, II², 2201)¹³² and is listed in an *aeisitoi* list of 209/10 (*I.G.*, II², 1077), both of which include his demotic. Of the dedications, *I.G.*, II², 3684 is a herm inscribed Φάβιος Δαδούχος, and 4822 is a little altar (or base) which he (Φάβιος Δαδούχος) dedicated to Demeter and Kore, probably on the Athenian Acropolis where it was found.

Possibly he was a son of Fabius Fabianus of Marathon, herald of the Boule and Demos in 182/3, to whom Herodes Atticus once erected a dedication.¹³³ If our daduch held a second archonship,¹³⁴ he may be identical to Fabius Thisbianus of Marathon, archon in 186/7.¹³⁵

Ca. 217/8

A herm, *I.G.*, II², 3764, dedicated to Aelius Apollonius the cosmēte by a son of the same name, who was ephebic archon at the time, exhibits a metrical inscription describing the cosmēte as τόνδε ἀπὸ δαδούχων ἱερῆς μητρός τε γεγῶτα, | ἥ τελετὰς ἀνέφαινε θεαῖν παρ' ἀνάκτορα Δηοῦς. His mother was probably a hierophantid.¹³⁶ The herm can be dated to around 217/8, for the ephebe Aelius Apollonius is listed in an ephebic inscription (*I.G.*, II², 2222) of around that time, and a cosmēte by the name of Apollonius appears in another ephebic inscription of about the same date (*I.G.*, II², 2219).

The daduchic ancestor of these two is probably P. Aelius Dionysius (see above) whose *akme* Kirchner puts at about 144. Kirchner's stemma shows that his nephew was P. Aelius Apollonius of the deme Antinoeis, who was a *prytanis* around 180,¹³⁷ and who was the father of Aelius Dionysius of the deme Antinoeis, ephebe in 205/6.¹³⁸ Thus Aelius Apollonius the cosmēte can be identified as another son of this Aelius Apollonius of the deme Antinoeis who was *prytanis* around 180. The identification has considerable further support from the ephebic inscription (*I.G.*, II², 2219) in which the cosmēte appears. Inspection of the stone shows that the appropriate name can be restored in lines 2–3 to fill the space exactly, so that lines 2–5 read as follows:

[τ]ὸν κοσμητῆν τῶν ἐφῆβων Αἴλιον
[Ἄ]πολλῶνιον Ἀν[τινοέα καὶ γυμνα]
[σ]τ[α]ρχο[ν] κ[α]ὶ ἀγ[ω]γ[ο]ν τοῦ περὶ
[ἀ]λκῆς ἀ[γ]ωγ[ο]ς -----]

We must assume that the mother of the cosmēte,

¹³² Cf. Notopoulos, *op. cit.*, pp. 34–35.

¹³³ *Hesperia* 4 (1935): p. 49, no. 11, line 57; *ibid.* 30 (1961): p. 272, no. 107. Cf. Woloch, 1966: Fabius no. 3.

¹³⁴ This practice occurred in the third century; see Geagan, 1967: p. 3.

¹³⁵ *S.E.G.*, XXIII, 119. Cf. Oliver, *Z.P.E.* (forthcoming).

¹³⁶ See below, p. 88.

¹³⁷ *I.G.*, II², 1793, line 14.

¹³⁸ *I.G.*, II², 2193, line 101.

Publia Aelia Herennia, the hierophantid, assumed this priesthood after the dedication of *I.G.*, II², 3688.

27. Δαμοτέλης. *I.G.*, II², 3715. In office sometime in the third century.

28. Θισβιανός. *Ibid.* In office sometime in the third century.

29. Αἰράριος Σωσίπατρος. *Ibid.* In office around the end of the third century.

On this dedication set up by the *polis*—the lettering may be as late as the fourth century—one Αἰράριος Σωσίπατρος, a daduch, is inscribed as the descendant of the daduchs Damoteles and Thisbianus.

The names are rather strange. Δαμοτέλης (as opposed to Δημοτέλης) is, as far as I know, unique in Attic prosopography. The only other Thisbianus known in Athens is C. Fabius Thisbianus, archon in the year 186/7.¹³⁹ The gentilicium Aerarius is also puzzling. Oliver,¹⁴⁰ on the basis of a reading of Raubitschek's which let it appear that the archon Thisbianus's name should be restored as Π[αῖ]λιος Θισβιανός, once suggested emending the name in our inscription to Αἰ (<Ἀρ)ριον Σωσίπατρον (or Αἰ <Ῥάριον), stating: "while a gentilicium Aerarius is indeed attested, it is attested in the wrong milieu to be absolutely convincing as the nomen of an aristocratic house, and I have long been puzzled by it, without, however, daring to question it on subjective grounds." Though his emendation no longer has support in the archon's name, the difficulties Oliver noticed still remain, and so Αἰ (<Ἀρ)ριον ought to be considered.¹⁴¹

As in the case of the hierophant Erotius (no. 34) and his son Cleadas, Argive relationship and a connection with the Mystery cult at Lerna may be involved here.

30. (Μάρ 'Ιούνιος) Νικαγόρας Μινουκιανοῦ. J. Baillet, *Inscriptions grecques et latines des tombeaux des rois ou syringes* (*Mém. Inst.* 42 [1925]: 1265, pl. 15 (= Dittenberger, *O.G.I.*, 721); Baillet, *op. cit.*, 1889, pl. 29b (= Dittenberger, *O.G.I.*, 720); *I.G.*, II², 4831. O. Schissel, *Klio* 21 (1927): pp. 369–370, with stemma, p. 371. W. Stegemann, *R.E.* 17 (1936): col. 218. In office from at least 304 to at least 326.

He immortalized his visit to the tombs (the chambers of which are called σύριγγες) of the kings in Egyptian Thebes by recording two graffiti. One of them (Baillet, 1265) reads as follows:

¹³⁹ *S.E.G.*, XXIII, 119. This Fabius could have been daduch no. 25, Fabius of Marathon (see above).

¹⁴⁰ *A.J.P.* 71 (1950): p. 174.

¹⁴¹ The personal name Ῥάριος is unattested, so far as I can determine.

ὁ δαδούχος τῶν ἀγιοτά
 των Ἑλευσίνι μυστηρίων
 Μινουκιανοῦ Ἀθηναῖος ἱστορήσας
 τὰς σύριγγας πολλοῖς ὕστερον
 χρόνοις μετὰ τὸν θεῖον Πλάτωνα
 ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν, ἐθαύμασα καὶ χάρι(ν)
 ἔσχον τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ τῷ εὐσεβεστάτῳ
 βασιλεῖ Κωνσταντίνῳ τῷ τοῦτό μοι
 παρασχόντι.

The daduch observed hieronymy when writing this, as Baillet correctly noticed (previously [Νικαγόρας] was restored at the end of line 2 when in fact it did not exist.)¹⁴² The reference to Plato, the patronymic, and the date (in the reign of Constantine) connect him with the great Athenian family of orators, sophists, and philosophers which prided itself on its descent from the famous Plutarch.¹⁴³ Members of it were: Nicagoras the sacred herald (no. 11) and sophist, who lived around 180–250; Minucianus, the sacred herald's grandfather and the husband of a great-niece of Plutarch; and Minucianus the sacred herald's son, also a sophist, whose *floruit* was around 260–268.¹⁴⁴ That our daduch was the latter's son is clearly shown by the other graffito at Thebes (Baillet, 1889), which gives his full name and the date of the visit:

Κωνσταντίνῳ Σ[ε]β[αστῶ] τὸ Ζ̄ καὶ Κωνσταντίνῳ Καίσ(αρι)
 τὸ Ἀ ὑ[π]άτοις
 ὁ δαδούχος τῶν Ἑλευσινίων Νικαγόρας Μινου
 κιανοῦ Ἀθηναῖος ἱστορήσας τὰς θέας
 σύριγγας ἐθαύμασα.

The seventh consulate of Constantine and the first consulate of Constantius were in 326.¹⁴⁵ Baillet persuasively suggests that Constantine subsidized Nicagoras's trip to Egypt (τῷ τοῦτό μοι παρασχόντι). He suggests further that the trip was commissioned by Constantine for the purpose of having the daduch report to him on the physical condition of the pagan monuments of Egypt. Graindor¹⁴⁶ agrees that he was probably subsidized but strongly doubts the purpose suggested by Baillet; such a mission would be unparalleled, and at this date in Constantine's reign, inappropriate; moreover, it is strange that no mention

of such a commission is made in the graffiti. He argues instead for a connection with Constantine's founding of the University of Constantinople, his affection for Athens, and his interest in philosophy, and suggests accordingly that Constantine's subsidy was for an educational purpose, a philosophical journey. In fact the graffiti inform us that Nicagoras was in the company of several Platonic philosophers,¹⁴⁷ and his allusion to the "divine Plato" would seem to indicate that like his ancestors he was a philosopher himself. Very near one of his graffiti (Baillet, 1269) and those of several of his companions is another in the same red ink, which reads: "Ἰλεως ἡμῖν Πλάτων καὶ ἐνταῦθα. Graindor focuses on the significance of καὶ ἐνταῦθα: "elle laisse entendre que le dadouque a visité d'autres lieux où Platon avait passé ou était censé avoir passé."¹⁴⁸

Two peculiarities in the second of Nicagoras's graffiti (Baillet, 1889), however, deserve comment. The first is the daduch's title ὁ δαδούχος τῶν Ἑλευσινίων. Τὰ Ἑλευσίνια were a festival of games; it was an *agon*, a completely different festival from the Mysteries. It seems very strange that a daduch would have written this instead of μυστηρίων, in effect putting the name of the wrong festival in his title.¹⁴⁹ Stranger still is the appearance of his own name, Nicagoras, a violation of the law of hieronymy by the very man who swore at his investiture to observe this strictly for the rest of his life. Even more striking is the proximity of the correct form of his name and title to this incorrect one: on one wall he kept hier-

¹⁴⁷ Baillet, *op. cit.*, p. 492.

¹⁴⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 213.

¹⁴⁹ It is argued below that the same priest set up dedications at Epidaurus. There he is called δαδούχος τῶν Ἑλευσίνι μυστηρίων (*I.G.*, IV², 429) and δαδούχος τοῖν θεοῖν (*I.G.*, IV², 431), hieronymy being observed in both cases. No instance of an Athenian source calling the Mysteries τὰ Ἑλευσίνια μυστήρια is known to me, so that a brachylogism δαδούχος τῶν Ἑλευσινίων (μυστηρίων) seems out of the question. Aelius Aristides uses Ἑλευσίνια for the Eleusinian Mysteries (*Panathenaic Oration*, 230, 249, 257 [ed. J. H. Oliver, "The Civilizing Power," *Trans. Amer. Philos. Soc.* 58, 1 (1968)]), but in the majority of these instances, when comparing them with other cults. Thus there is no question that non-Athenians used this designation (even when addressing Athenians); it was certainly understandable, as well as useful in distinguishing one Mystery cult from another. But in our graffito the question is whether this is proper *Athenian* usage, and whether it is by the daduch himself, who in all other instances when he used his title had it correctly recorded. An error is obviously involved here, and the additional error, lack of hieronymy, shows that it is not merely a scribe's error, such as τῶν Ἑλευσίνι (μυστηρίων), but rather one of general ignorance, the error very likely of a non-Athenian.

Demeter and Kore are sometimes called αἱ Ἑλευσίνιαι (θεαί) outside of Attica (*cf. I.G.*, IV, 955, line 14). A priestess of Demeter and Kore (of the Eleusinian cult) called herself at Delphi *perhaps* ἱέρεια Δήμητρος καὶ Κόρης Ἑλευσε[νίων] (see below, p. 75). Thus δαδούχος τῶν Ἑλευσινίων (θεῶν) is within the realm of possibility, but if he wished to designate himself according to the goddesses he served instead of the festival, as he did at Epidaurus, one would expect the title δαδούχος τοῖν θεοῖν as at Epidaurus.

¹⁴² Baillet, *op. cit.*, p. 295 and pl. 15. Baillet should also have removed it from his text. In line 2 I keep the old reading Ἑλευσίνι; Baillet would have Ἑλευσινί(ων), a designation that was never used at Athens (see below). *Cf. I.G.*, IV², 429 (304 A.D.).

¹⁴³ For the family see especially O. Schissel, *op. cit.* He misunderstands the nature of the daduch when he calls Nicagoras a "Myste of the second degree," and likewise that of the sacred herald when he calls his grandfather a "Myste of the third degree."

¹⁴⁴ Suda, s.v. Μινουκιανός. The daduch's homonymous son set up a dedication (*I.G.*, II², 4831) in the sanctuary of Pan and the nymphs on Mt. Parnes.

¹⁴⁵ *Cf. A. Degraffi, I Fasti Consolari*, p. 79.

¹⁴⁶ *Byzantion* 3 (1926): pp. 209–214.

onymy and on the opposite wall he violated it; on one wall he wrote his correct title, *δαδοῦχος τῶν Ἐλευσίνι μυστηρίων*, but on the opposite wall the unprecedented *δαδοῦχος τῶν Ἐλευσινίων*. Why two inscriptions? And why is one so improperly executed? The immediate inference is that Nicagoras did not write them both. He certainly wrote (or had written for him and closely supervised the writing of) the longer one (1269), which was in the vicinity of those of several of his companions. Besides being expressed correctly in regard to this title and the use of hieronymy, it contains a personal reference to Plato, and the ending *καὶ χάρι(ν) ἔσχον . . . μοι παρασχόντι* is certainly a personal touch. On the other hand, the graffito on the opposite wall contains just the bare formulae of the standard graffito found in these tombs ("I saw and expressed wonder") as well as the date according to the consulates of the emperors. I suspect that this graffito was not written by Nicagoras,¹⁵⁰ but by a person unfamiliar with correct Athenian practice; by whom and under what circumstances is a matter of speculation, but the addition of the date may have prompted it. Nevertheless, it does not indicate that the date of Nicagoras's visit is incorrect.

Twenty-two years earlier, in 304, a *δαδοῦχος τῶν Ἐλευσίνι μυστηρίων* dedicated at Epidauros a statue to Athena Hygieia (*I.G.*, IV², 428) and an altar to Apollo Pythius Patrous (*I.G.*, IV², 429).¹⁵¹ This daduch was also priest of Asclepius Soter simultaneously, presumably at Athens. His name is given hieronymously as *Μᾶρ(κος) Ἰούν(ιος)*.¹⁵² A difference of twenty-two years hardly allows one to think immediately of Nicagoras, especially since the gentilicium and praenomen of his family are unknown. However, the connection can be made by way of the dedications *I.G.*, II², 3689 and 3690, statue bases erected by the city in honor of the proconsul Claudius Illyrius, in which the praenomen and gentilicium of Nicagoras's family are revealed: the epimelete for the dedication of both bases was one *Μᾶρκος Ἰούνιος Μινουκλιανός*. The bases are dated on the basis of the archonship of Terens (225–250), the father of Illyrius, to the end of the second quarter of the third century or later, a date that agrees well with the notice in the Suda that Minucianus (the father of Nicagoras the daduch) was a sophist whose *floruit* was in the reign of Gallienus (253–268).¹⁵³ Surely Marcus Junius Minu-

cianus is this same man, the father of the daduch Nicagoras who, as the hieronymous Marcus Junius, dedicated *I.G.*, IV², 428 and 429 at Epidauros. Minucianus seems too rare a name at Athens for this to be coincidental. The identification gains even further support from another base at Epidauros which has long been associated with these, namely, *I.G.*, IV², 431, a dedication of a statue by a daduch who, like the hieronymous Marcus Junius, was also the priest of Asclepius Soter. His name is given as *δαδοῦ[χος] τοῖν θεοῖν Μ[. . .] νοῦ Ἀθη[ναῖο]ς*. The lacuna certainly contains a patronymic and the restoration *δαδοῦ[χος] τοῖν θεοῖν Μ[ινουκία] νοῦ Ἀθη[ναῖο]ς* naturally imposes itself.¹⁵⁴

We can now be sure of the gentilicium and praenomen of this noble family of orators, sophists, and philosophers; we also know that M. Junius Nicagoras¹⁵⁵ served as daduch from at least 304 to at least 326; that he was a priest also of Asclepius Soter; and that his concern for religion, as is manifest in the assumption of this additional priesthood and the erection of at least three monuments at Epidauros,¹⁵⁶ was accompanied by a very active interest in Plato.

31. *Φλάβιος Πομ Δαδοῦχος*. *I.G.*, II², 4222. In office sometime after 372.

He was in charge of setting up a dedication honoring Rufius Festus, proconsul of Achaia and Areopagite. Groag identifies the latter with a *magister memoriae* of Valens from ca. 370 to 371, who probably in 372 became proconsul in Asia.¹⁵⁷ Since he is mentioned in an inscription as having been twice proconsul,¹⁵⁸ he probably served as proconsul of Achaia after 372.¹⁵⁹

The daduch's title, *διασημότατος*, indicates that he was of equestrian rank; his other title, *ἀπὸ κομίτων*, that he was awarded the honor *ex comitibus* but not necessarily that he served as *comes* or served in any particular office.¹⁶⁰ It is uncertain how *Pom* should

and philosophers was first suggested as a possibility by K. Latte, *Gnomon* 7 (1931): p. 118, n. 1. This Junius Minucianus appears also in a letter of Gallienus (*Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.* 1971: p. 123, no. 17, line 16).

¹⁵⁴ F. Millar (*J.R.S.* 59 [1969]: pp. 16–17) independently made a similar restoration, though he apparently was not disturbed by Kavvadias's interpretation of the abbreviation (which was accepted by Latte, *loc. cit.*); but Millar's restoration [Μ Ἰουν Μινουκία?] νοῦ is too long for the space. (He also keeps <Νικαγόρας> in Baillet, *op. cit.*, p. 1265). W. Peek, however, in *Inschriften aus dem Asklepieion von Epidauros* (Berlin, 1969), no. 169, shows that he still holds to Kavvadias's resolution of IOTN, and would restore Μ[ᾶρ Ἰουν] | ν(εώτερος)ου, which is strange indeed. His drawing of this part of the inscription shows that [Μινουκία] νοῦ fits the space exactly.

¹⁵⁵ Perhaps *I.G.*, II², 12142, a grave monument for a παῖς δὲ Μινουκ[ι]ανοῦ —, also pertains to him.

¹⁵⁶ Cf. *I.G.*, IV², 430 by a daduch and priest of Asclepius Soter.

¹⁵⁷ Groag, *Die Reichsbeamten von Achaia in spätromischer Zeit* (Dissertationes Pannonicae, Ser. I, Fasc. 14, 1946), pp. 49–51.

¹⁵⁸ *C.I.L.*, VI, 537.

¹⁵⁹ So Groag, *loc. cit.*

¹⁶⁰ Cf. Seeck, *R.E.* 4: coll. 633–634.

¹⁵⁰ I cannot ascertain from the photographs whether or not there is any difference in handwriting.

¹⁵¹ The date is inscribed in each case as the year 181 of the Hadrianic era (= 304 A.D.).

¹⁵² Kavvadias interpreted the abbreviation as *Μᾶρ(κος) Ἰού(νιος) ν(εώτερος)* because of the apparently separate stroke over the nu in 429: IOTN (I have not seen the stone). This interpretation is refuted by 428, which has only IOTN (verified by inspection); for if *νεώτερος* had really been meant, it would have been indicated in some way in 428 also.

¹⁵³ *S.v.* Μινουκλιανός. The connection of the bases with the daduch of the Epidauros dedications and the family of sophists

be resolved, but it is probably a second gentilicium rather than a cognomen, since hieronymy demanded the suppression of the cognomen in Roman names.

He is the last known daduch.

GENERAL REMARKS

AGE AND DURATION OF SERVICE

Callias II was daduch for at least 44 years, and Callias III for at least 30 years. Between the end of the second century and 20/19 B.C. three daduchs held office and the third was still in office in 20/19; therefore their average term would be about twenty years. Between the end of the third century and the end of the second, seven daduchs held office, but here the earlier limit is subject to a margin of error of twenty to thirty years. These data point to an age sometimes of less than fifty years at the time of appointment, perhaps sometimes even less than forty. The only period during the Roman empire for which the evidence provides some inferences concerning age is the second half of the second century. At that time Pom(pei)us (no. 21) held office for at least ten years; Aelius Praxagoras (no. 23) for at least five years, and died at an age of approximately eighty; Claudius Philippus (no. 24) for about three years, but in his case other evidence seems to indicate that he died young; and Pompeius (no. 25) could have served for as long as ten years. In the fourth century Nicagoras held office for more than twenty-two years. No literary source comments on the daduch's age. It appears that it was not as important a factor as in the case of the hierophant, and sometimes a daduch could be selected who was about forty years old.

All indications are that the *dadouchia* was a lifetime office. No living ex-daduchs are known. Sophocles III of Acharnae (no. 13) and Themistocles of Hagnous (no. 14) certainly died in office. The custom of hieronymy, which daduchs first adopted sometime in the first century A.D. or the first half of the second century, is only comprehensible in terms of a lifetime office.

MARITAL STATUS

Callias III and Sophocles III of Acharnae were married while daduchs, and many others had children. Marriage was evidently no bar to this priesthood.

MANNER OF APPOINTMENT

For long stretches of time one or two families dominated this priesthood. In the second and first centuries before Christ it was rotated between two families, with the basis of rotation being perhaps seniority among the eligible candidates from both families. In the second half of the first and the first half of the second centuries after Christ it was controlled by one family, the Claudii of Melite. However, the evidence of the fourth century B.C. and the

second and third centuries A.D. clearly shows that heredity was not the method of appointment; for at these times families apparently unrelated to one another supplied daduchs. In addition, the new letter of Marcus Aurelius reveals that elections were definitely held for sacred heralds at this time, and a fragmentary text relating to a daduch in the same letter speaks of elections also.¹⁶¹

A fragment of Aristotle¹⁶² seems to state that allotment was used; if so, it would have to have been used before the second century B.C. But the fact that in the fifth century the two Calliases, grandfather and grandson, were daduchs tends to cast doubt on it even for this period, and favors the assumption that, if allotment was at all used at this time, it was used for a small number of pre-selected candidates as Foucart suggested.¹⁶³ At any rate, certainly by the second century B.C. the daduchs were being elected by the Kerykes, and often certain families were so prominent and powerful that their candidates had little or no difficulty in being elected.¹⁶⁴ Such an achievement was a source of pride, as is manifest in the decree honoring the daduch Themistocles, where the *dadouchia* is called (line 65) ἡ περὶ τὴν ρ[ι]κίαν γεγονυῖα ἐπὶ πολλὰς γενεὰς αὐτῷ δαδουχία. Once continuity of one family in this priesthood started, it was probably hard to stop its momentum. But it could be stopped, as happened very clearly to the Claudii of Melite, and in this case a considerable struggle probably took place before they regained it.¹⁶⁵

REQUIREMENTS FOR APPOINTMENT

No special requirements for this priesthood are known. The decree in honor of Themistocles states (lines 37-39) that he received τὴν εὐγένειαν καὶ τὴν ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἱερωσύνην ἐκ διαδοχῆς παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς κτλ. I.G., IV², 86, in mentioning that Lamprias had relatives who were daduchs, describes the *genos* of the Kerykes as τὸ ἐνδοξότατον Κηρύκων γένος, ἀφ' οὗ δαδουχοῦσιν οἱ εὐγενέστατοι.¹⁶⁶ The more times a family held the priesthood the more *εὐγενής* it probably became within the *genos*. Thus prestige and influence were probably the only main qualifications necessary.

In the time of Marcus Aurelius an incumbent of another priesthood had to lay down the *strophion* of that priesthood before canvassing for the *dadouchia*.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶¹ Oliver, 1970: pp. 43-44; this is discussed above, pp. 60-61.

¹⁶² See above, p. 53.

¹⁶³ 1914: pp. 192-193, but he incorrectly assumed allotment for all periods.

¹⁶⁴ This is implied in lines 37-38 and following in the decree for Themistocles (edited above, pp. 50-52): παρεληφότα τὴν εὐ[γ]ένειαν καὶ τὴν ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἱερωσύνην παρὰ . . .

¹⁶⁵ See above, pp. 61-63.

¹⁶⁶ Lines 4-5, edited by W. Peek, *Inscriptionen aus dem Asklepieion von Epidauros*, p. 30, no. 36.

¹⁶⁷ See above, pp. 60-61, and below, p. 68.

INSTALLATION

At this moment the daduch became subject to hieronymy until his death (see Introduction). He is said to have undergone a *dokimasia*, but the source for this is not the most reliable.¹⁶⁸

DRESS

For a discussion of the literary evidence see above, pp. 32–33. Like the hierophant the daduch wore a *strophion* in addition to a myrtle wreath. His garment, probably purple, was something out of the ordinary; its representation on a fifth-century vase is discussed above, p. 48.

EMOLUMENTS

No information specifically for this priesthood is available; for information on the Eleusinian priesthoods in general see the section on "Emoluments" in the "General Remarks" at the end of chapter I.

The daduch received a double portion in the Eleusinian Endowment of 160–70 A.D.

RESIDENCE

The daduch had a house within the sanctuary.¹⁶⁹

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL POSITION

In the fifth century B.C. the family of the two Calliases was one of the most important in Athens. This was also true in regard to the families from Acharnae and Hagnous which controlled the *dadouchia* in the second and first centuries B.C., and in regard to the Claudii of Melite, the family which controlled it for a good part of the first and second centuries A.D.

It is evident from the speech of Andocides and the behavior of Callias that the daduch was normally very highly respected at that time. In the Roman period he occupied a seat of very great honor in the Theater of Dionysus¹⁷⁰ and was one of the *aeisitoi*. And for the second century there are signs of considerable competition for this priesthood.¹⁷¹ Also at this time many daduchs filled a distinguished array of political offices and liturgies, both before and during their priesthoods, and most were Roman citizens. Unlike the hierophants, none are known to have been ambassadors in the Roman period, but long before this the two Calliases (nos. 1 and 2) did serve in this capacity. As a group they are much less known for their wisdom and speaking ability: Nicagoras (no. 30), apparently a descendant of Plutarch, and Callias (no. 2) are the only ones definitely known to have engaged in literary or philosophical pursuits,

while Themistocles (no. 16) seems to have done research in the traditions of the cult and to have displayed considerable imagination in preserving them.

DUTIES DURING THE MYSTERIES

He went with the hierophant and the sacred herald to make the *prorrhesis* at the Stoa Poecile.¹⁷² In the procession to Eleusis he marched perhaps at its head, next to the hierophant.¹⁷³ During the secret rites his role can only be ascertained from his title: he provided light. The great importance of it at the climax of these rites is discussed above.¹⁷⁴

He may have had a greater role in the *ἐποπτεία* than in the *τελετή*.¹⁷⁵

OTHER FUNCTIONS

According to the Suda (*s.v.* Διὸς κώδιον) the daduch used a Διὸς κώδιον πρὸς τοὺς καθαρμούς, but whether in connection with the Mysteries is very disputed.¹⁷⁶ Also in doubt is the trustworthiness of the source that supplied the scholion to Aristophanes, *Frogs*, line 479, which states that the daduch officiated at one point in the festival of the Lenaea.¹⁷⁷

Unlike the hierophant he could hold other priesthoods. No. 15 held also the priesthood of Poseidon Erechtheus; no. 29 was simultaneously a priest of Asclepius; no. 2 was the priest of his phratry. Two daduchs in the Hellenistic period, nos. 7 and 10, were altar-priests before becoming daduchs. No. 22 held some other priesthood before the *daidouchia*. Evidently a legal case could be made that one had to lay down the *strophion* of a presently held priesthood before canvassing for the *daidouchia* (and then, if successful, presumably also lay down the presently held priesthood itself), and Marcus Aurelius was persuaded to make a ruling to this effect, but as no. 29 shows, the old practice eventually reasserted itself.

III. PRIESTESS OF DEMETER AND KORE

(Ἱέρεια Δήμητρος καὶ Κόρης)

Several *gene* were eligible to supply the priestess of Demeter and Kore. A notice of Photius mentions one of them: Φιλλεῖδαι· γένος ἐστὶν Ἀθήνησιν· ἐκ δὲ τούτων ἡ Ἱέρεια τῆς Δήμητρος καὶ Κόρης, ἡ μουσα τοὺς μύστας ἐν Ἐλευσίνι. An inscription of the Roman period, *I.G.*, II², 2954,¹ indicates that there were also others. In the notice of Photius *μυεῖν* is of course not used in its

¹⁷² See below, p. 78.

¹⁷³ See above, pp. 35–36.

¹⁷⁴ Pp. 46–47.

¹⁷⁵ Sopater, *Rhetores Graeci* 8 (ed. Walz): p. 121, 11–12: *δαδούχος δὲ τοῦτον ὡς ἐπόπτην μᾶλλον ἢ μύστην ὀρώ*. The meaning of this is somewhat opaque; cf. Foucart, 1914: p. 196.

¹⁷⁶ Cf. Foucart, 1914: pp. 197–198; Nilsson, *Geschichte* I: pp. 110–113.

¹⁷⁷ Cf. Foucart, 1914: p. 198.

¹ Discussed below, p. 74.

¹⁶⁸ Eustathius, *Iliad*, XVIII, line 492.

¹⁶⁹ See above, p. 50.

¹⁷⁰ See appendix III.

¹⁷¹ See above, pp. 61–63.

original sense, "to pre-initiate," as attested in *I.G.*, I², 6,² but in its later sense, "to initiate."³

BEGINNING OF FIFTH CENTURY B.C.

"The priestess" mentioned in a fragmentary *boustrophedon* inscription set up within or near the Eleusinion around the beginning of the fifth century⁴ is most likely the priestess of Demeter and Kore, since no other priestess of the Eleusinian cult is ever called simply "the priestess."

Ca. 460 B.C.

In *I.G.*, I², 6, the law issued around 460 B.C. concerning the Mysteries, she is called "priestess of Demeter."⁵ According to this law she was to receive an obol from each initiate at the Lesser Mysteries and the same amount at the Greater Mysteries. She was also to be in charge of the expense fund of 1,600 drachmae, as she had been previously, an indication that at this time she played, apart from her religious duties, an important part also in the administration of the cult.

1. Λυσιστράτη. *Hesperia* 10: (1940): p. 97, no. 18 (= *S.E.G.* X, 321). Around the middle of the fifth century.

Shortly before the middle of the fifth century Lysistrate commissioned the following inscription in elegiac meter (*Hesperia*, loc. cit.) to be carved on a base which held some sort of pillar⁶:

[Ἄ]ρρητο τελετῆς πρόπολος σῆς, πότνια Διοῖ,
καὶ θυγατρὸς προθύρου κόσμον ἄγαλμα τόδε
ἔστησεν ΣΤΕΦΑΝΩ Λυσιστράτῃ οὐδὲ παρόντων
φείδεται ἀλλὰ θεοῖς ἄφθονος ἐς δύναμιν.

Pritchett, the editor, explained ΣΤΕΦΑΝΩ as either *στεφάνω* (two crowns) or *Στεφάνω* (a patronymic with $\omega = \text{ου}$). But P. Maas would rather edit *στεφανῶ*⁷: "As *κοσμή* and *τραπέζω* are titles of Attic Athena priestesses, *στεφανῶ* fits the title of an Attic Demeter priestess." His statement might lead one to think that *κοσμή* and *τραπέζω* are titles of the priestess of Athena. This, however, is not the case. *κοσμή* and

τραπέζοφόρος (called *τραπέζω* in Hesychius) were priestesses who assisted the priestess of Athena in the *κόσμησις* τῆς *τραπέζης*.⁸ The principal piece of evidence in regard to them (Harpocration, s.v. *τραπέζοφόρος*) reads: Λυκοῦργος ἐν τῷ περὶ τῆς ἱερείας ὅτι ἱερωσύνης ὄνομά ἐστιν ἡ *τραπέζοφόρος*. ὅτι δ' αὕτη τε καὶ ἡ *κοσμή* συνδιέπονσι πάντα τῇ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερείᾳ κτλ. Thus, in the ritual of the cult which involved the setting of a table the priestess of Athena was assisted by two priestesses, *κοσμή* and *τραπέζω*; the former's function was to carry the table and the latter's function was to set it.⁹ Their titles are certainly not titles of the priestess of Athena, but simply reflect their particular functions, just as the titles hierophant and daduch reflect the functions of these priests. There is no testimony of a priestess of Demeter and Kore having any other title than "priestess," "priestess of Demeter," "priestess of Demeter and Kore," or—poetically—*ἄρρητο τελετῆς πρόπολος σῆς . . . καὶ θυγατρὸς*. Moreover, the priestess of Demeter and Kore is not known to have performed any function that involved crowning. Of course the fact that such a function is not known does not mean that it did not exist, and we might consider a variation of Maas's theory even though there is no parallel for it: *στεφανῶ* may reflect one of the duties of this priestess. However, Pritchett's theory that the word refers to two crowns attached to the pillar makes sense in the text and in relation to the monument, and he cites similar dedications. Since this is poetry, there seems to be no reason against understanding *στεφάνω* as being in apposition to *ἄγαλμα*. At the present time this solution seems to me to be the preferable one.

Since the poetic rendering of her title (*ἄρρητο τελετῆς πρόπολος σῆς . . . καὶ θυγατρὸς*) can be translated into prose as "the priestess of Demeter and Kore," it is clear that this full title was in use as early as the middle of the fifth century, and that "the priestess of Demeter" and "the priestess" were abbreviations of it. The poetic rendering of it shows that she had a role in the secret *telele*.¹⁰

421 B.C.

The Rheitto inscription (*I.G.*, I², 81) of 421 B.C. mentions "the priestesses" as carrying the *hiera* at the head of the *mystai* in the Procession of the Mysteries, and we are probably to understand the priestess of Demeter and Kore, the most important priestess of the Eleusinian cult, as well as the hierophantids, as being among them. Foucart believes that the priestesses mentioned here were the *ἱερεῖαι παναγείς*, but he can supply no convincing evidence that such a group of priestesses existed in the cult of the Eleusinian Mysteries.¹¹

⁸ For the operation cf. *I.G.*, II², 776.

⁹ Cf. *R.E.* 2: col. 1962.

¹⁰ In *I.G.*, II², 3411 *πρόπολος* Διοῦς καὶ Κόρης refers to the hierophant.

¹¹ 1914: pp. 214–215; see below, p. 98.

² See the new edition above, pp. 10–11.

³ Foucart (1914: p. 216) and Toepffer (1889: pp. 92–94) inferred from the provision in *I.G.*, I², 6 which limits the conducting of *μήσις* to the Eumolpidae and Kerykes that Photius's notice refers to the Haloa. Ziehen, *Leges Sacrae*, p. 16, n. 8, correctly termed their arguments a vicious circle and noted also that the Haloa were open only to women.

⁴ *S.E.G.*, XXI, 3, line 13; see above, p. 10.

⁵ See the new edition above, pp. 10–11.

⁶ R. E. Wycherley, *The Athenian Agora*, III, *Literary and Epigraphical Testimonia* (Princeton, 1957): p. 82, mentions the possibility that it is archaic. If so, it is an extraordinarily good imitation of mid fifth-century letters; I doubt even the possibility of its being archaic.

⁷ *Hesperia* 15 (1946): p. 72.

Ca. 416 B.C.

According to the *aparche* law (I.G., I², 76) of ca. 416, she did not take part at all in the announcement or reception of the *aparche*.

2. Θεανὼ Μένωνος Ἀγρυλλῆεν. Plutarch, *Alcibiades*, 22 and 33. Toepffer, 1889: p. 97. *P.A.*, 6636. For the proof that she was a priestess of Demeter and Kore see chap. I, p. 16, n. 31. In office in 415.

She was in office when the Mysteries were allegedly mimicked by Alcibiades and his companions, but her priesthood was not among the ones impersonated (viz., those of the hierophant, daduch, and sacred herald). This cannot, however, be taken as an indication that the priestess had an insignificant part in the *telete*; for as we have seen the priestess Lysistrate (no. 1) prided herself on being "a minister of the most secret *telete*."

Theano refused to curse Alcibiades and his companions when so ordered by the state, protesting that she was "a praying priestess and not a cursing priestess."¹² We hear of no prosecution brought against her for this action. Even if there had been any, there probably would have been little chance of success, as the state probably had no clearly defined right to order a priest to curse someone.

END OF THE FIFTH CENTURY

In the section of the law code of Nicomachus dealing with religious festivals the third preserved column lists sacrifices at the Eleusinia.¹³ These are divided into two groups, and at the end of each group the priesthoods responsible for performing them are given. The stone breaks off before the end of the second group, so that the priesthood responsible for this group is not preserved. Those responsible for the first group are (lines 73-76):

Εὐμολπ[ίδαι]
ταῦτα [θύουσιν]
ιερέα[ι Δήμητρος]
Ἡ ἀπόμ[ετρα]

¹² It is perhaps better to understand the phrase in Plutarch, *Alcibiades*, 22, 4, τὰ καθεστηκότα ὑπὸ τ' Εὐμολπιδῶν καὶ Κηρύκων καὶ τῶν ἱερέων τῶν ἐξ Ἐλευσίνος, as referring to the Eumolpidae and Kerykes and priestesses of Eleusis, and write τῶν ἱερέων τῶν ἐξ Ἐλευσίνος. *ιέρεια* as an alternate spelling of *ιέρεια* is attested in inscriptions for all periods, and ταῖς ἱερέαις ταῖς ἐξ Ἐλευσίν[ος] occurs in I.G., II², 1363 (= Dow and Healey, *A Sacred Calendar of Eleusis*) (this reading contains some slight improvements over that of Dow and Healey). No such designation as this occurs for the priests. The passage in Plutarch would give better sense if a dichotomy were made between the Eumolpidae and Kerykes on the one hand and the priestesses on the other. For no priest of the sanctuary at this time is known to have come from any other *genos* than the Eumolpidae or Kerykes, so that τῶν ἱερέων seems redundant, whereas priestesses did come from several *gene* and it would be convenient to designate them simply "priestesses."

¹³ Sokolowski, *Supplément*, no. 10; cf. R. Healey, *H.S.C.P.* 66 (1962): pp. 256-259.

Thus the first group of sacrifices was performed by Eumolpidae and the priestess of Demeter (and Kore), with the latter receiving *apometra* of 100 drachmas. The second group was probably performed by the *hieropoioi*; for according to I.G., I², 5 the *hieropoioi* sacrificed at the Eleusinia, and several of the deities of the second group are the same as the deities in I.G., I², 5.

For her sacrificial duties in this festival the priestess of Demeter received, as it appears, *apometra* of 100 drachmae. In comparison with the emoluments given to all other priests in this inscription this is an enormous amount. It is also striking that no sum of money seems to be given to the Eumolpidae, who together with the priestess perform these sacrifices. However, if we make the following restoration, these two anomalies disappear:

Εὐμολπ[ίδαις οἷ]
ταῦτα [θύουσιν καὶ]
ιερέα[ι Δήμητρος]
Ἡ ἀπόμ[ετρα].

With several people sharing in it, the large size of the sum is understandable. Part of it went to the Eumolpidae who performed the sacrifices and part went to the priestess as *apometra* (a term that seems to apply only to priestesses).¹⁴

FOURTH CENTURY

Two legal cases are known to have taken place in the fourth century between the priestess of Demeter and Kore and the hierophant and to have concerned a conflict of sacral rights. In the earlier case the hierophant Archias was convicted of impiety for sacrificing at the Haloa, at which only the priestess had the right to sacrifice.¹⁵ The other case took place around the end of the century, but little is known of its details, neither the specific point of contention nor its result.¹⁶ Both cases make it clear that the priestess had a very strong position in the Eleusinian cult.

3. Priestess of Demeter [-----]. *Hesperia* 26 (1957): pp. 79-80, no. 25. Dated by lettering to before the middle of the fourth century.

On this dedication which she erected probably in the Eleusinion, she is called the mother of Epigenes of Acharnae.

BEFORE MIDDLE OF FOURTH CENTURY

An inventory of some year "before the middle of the fourth century" contains the uninformative entry¹⁷: *ιερέαι καλ*[- - - -].

¹⁴ The recipient of *apometra* is a priestess in I.G., I², 843; II², 1357, 1363; the recipient is unclear in I.G., I², 190 and Sokolowski, *Supplément*, 18.

¹⁵ See above, p. 17.

¹⁶ See above, pp. 22-23.

¹⁷ I.G., II², 1540, line 57.

400-350

Phileto, the daughter of Dexicles, the priestess who made the dedication *I.G.*, II², 4560 (400-350 B.C.), is apparently a priestess of Demeter, but it is uncertain whether she is the Eleusinian priestess.

352 B.C.

In the Sacred *Orgas* inscription of 352¹⁸ the "priestess of Demeter" was requested to sacrifice an [ἄρεστήριον] together with the hierophant. Previously in this decree, in matters pertaining to the administration of the Sacred *Orgas*, the daduch was the hierophant's associate; but here where it is a question of a sacrifice the hierophant's associate is not the daduch but the priestess of Demeter (and Kore). Normally, in administrative matters the hierophant and the daduch, the representatives of the two *gene* that controlled the administration of the sanctuary, were the most important officials; but in this religious matter the priestess of Demeter and Kore apparently overshadowed the daduch; she and the hierophant appear here as the two principal religious representatives of the Eleusinian sanctuary.

329/8

A "house of the priestess" is mentioned several times in an inscription of this year (*I.G.*, II², 1672). A retaining wall was built (line 17) κατὰ τὴν οἰκίαν τῆ(ν) Ἐλευσίνι τῆς ἱερείας. In lines 126-127 two pigs are required to purify [something] and τὴν οἰκίαν τὴν ἱερὰν, οὗ ἡ ἱερεὶα οἰκεῖ. Elsewhere (line 305) "the doors of the priestess" are mentioned. Since these operations are listed as expenses in a financial account of the sanctuary, we can infer that the "sacred house" in which she lived was situated within the sanctuary.¹⁹

In the same inscription (lines 255ff.) she is certainly one of "the priests and priestesses" who received an allotment of grain on certain occasions (see above p. 20).

Ca. 330-ca. 270

The "sacred calendar" of Eleusis, issued around the end of the fourth century, mentions "the priestess" in connection with the Thesmophoria,²⁰ certainly the priestess of Demeter and Kore, the only one at Eleusis so well known that she could be so referred

to; but because of the poor preservation of the stone, the precise connection with the Thesmophoria is unclear. Dow and Healey²¹ suggest that this is a local (Eleusinian) celebration of the Thesmophoria. Other local celebrations of the Thesmophoria by demes are known,²² but there is no other evidence that such a local celebration took place at Eleusis. And yet there are three pieces of evidence that reveal that there was some sort of connection between the Thesmophoria and the Eleusinian sanctuary: (1) Demeter and Kore are often called θεσμοφόρων θεῶν,²³ and in one instance a hierophant made a dedication to them²⁴; (2) this inscription (*I.G.*, II², 1363); and (3) a decree of the early second century B.C. honoring "the priestess of the Thesmophoroi."²⁵ The editor of the latter inscription, O. Broneer, felt justified in restoring the deme Melite as the corporation which issued the decree, on the grounds that the husband of the priestess was a member of this deme. It cannot be denied that the inscription is a decree of a deme, but the priestess's husband's demotic is not a compelling reason for restoring Melite as the deme in question. The fact that she is awarded a myrtle crown and that Demeter and Kore are mentioned in the decree would tend to place it rather in the Eleusinian sphere, since the Eleusinian *gene* honored their benefactors with myrtle crowns (and the state, also, sometimes so honored benefactors of the Eleusinian sanctuary). On the other hand, no instance of a myrtle crown granted by the deme of Eleusis is known; yet this is probably not enough to exclude Eleusis as the honoring deme. If we could accept, of Broneer's two suggested restorations of line 11, the one which reads καθάπερ [δέδοται καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις ἱερείαις ταῖς] τῆς Δήμητρος καὶ Κόρης, the priestess of the Thesmophoroi could be equated with the priestess of Demeter and Kore²⁶; but then the difficulty would remain that no site is mentioned for the erection of the priestess's portrait, a matter normally specified in honorary decrees. Thus the restoration and the equation are not assured, and so the relation between the Eleusinian sanctuary and the Thesmophoria still remains obscure.

THIRD OR SECOND CENTURY B.C.

A statue base of a priestess of Demeter and Kore whose name is not preserved is dated to the third or second century before Christ.²⁷

¹⁸ *I.G.*, II², 204; see above, pp. 17-18.

¹⁹ τῆ(ν) Ἐλευσίνι is ambiguous enough to be construed as referring to this house in the sanctuary. The retaining wall that was built in the vicinity of this house could have supported some part of the sanctuary from the outside, so that the house could be outside the sanctuary and therefore "in Eleusis." If so, the priestess might have owned a house in the deme, but lived in the "sacred house" in the sanctuary, which was at the disposal of every priestess entering office. The fact that "the house of the priestess in Eleusis" is not called "sacred" lends a bit of support to this possibility.

²⁰ *I.G.*, II², 1363; see Healey-Dow, 1965.

²¹ 1965: pp. 32-36.

²² Cf. *I.G.*, II², 1177; 1184.

²³ *I.G.*, II², 1363; Aristophanes, *Thesm.*, 83, 282, 295; *Eccl.*, 443; *Hesperia* 11 (1942): p. 265, no. 51.

²⁴ *A.J.A.* 64 (1960): p. 268; see above, hierophant no. 23.

²⁵ *Hesperia* 11 (1942): p. 265, no. 51.

²⁶ The identification cannot be excluded on the ground that the priestess of this inscription was selected by a deme whereas the priestess of Demeter and Kore was selected by a *genos*; for Broneer's restoration of προκεκριμένη in line 2 is by no means certain.

²⁷ *I.G.*, II², 3468.

4. [ἱερείας ^{ca.6} τῆς] Ἀπολλωνίου --- θυγατρὸς].

If Meritt is correct in his dating and restoration of an inscription found in the Athenian Agora,²⁸ the earliest known occurrence of this priestess as eponymous is "around the year 200 B.C." The only part of her name that is preserved is the patronymic Apollonius.

164 B.C.

An honorary decree of 164 B.C. praises the demarch of Eleusis for, among other things, having "performed the sacrifice of the Calamaea, and conducted the procession according to tradition together with the hierophant and the priestesses."²⁹ The Calamaea is an agrarian festival of Eleusis,³⁰ and this inscription is our only source of information about its ministers. The hierophant and the priestesses participating in the procession must also have been the ministers of the festival proper. The priestess of Demeter and Kore was surely included among the "priestesses," just as she certainly was among the "priestesses" in the procession of the Mysteries.³¹ At another agrarian festival at Eleusis, the Haloa, this priestess was the principal celebrant.³²

5. Γλαύκη Μενεδήμου Κυδαθηναίως θυγάτηρ. Append. VI; Ἀρχ. Ἐφ. 1971: pp. 129-130, no. 25; *I.G.*, II², 4690. *P.A.*, 2959. In office around the end of the second century.

Kirchner dated Glauce to the middle of the second century, on the basis of the lettering of an inscription (below, append. VI). She would then have to be the daughter of Menedemus (I),³³ who was active around the end of the third century and the early part of the second. However, the date of a new inscription (*Ἀρχ. Ἐφ., loc. cit.*) would place Glauce's incumbency around the end of the second and the beginning of the first century. Consequently she ought to be the daughter of Menedemus (II),³⁴ the grandson of Menedemus (I). The lettering of the inscription edited in appendix VI, though dated by Kirchner to the middle of the second century, is perfectly consistent also with a date around the end of this century.

Kirchner later changed the date of this priestess to the beginning of the Roman Empire, again on the basis of the lettering of an inscription. In his commentary to *I.G.*, II², 4690 he writes: "Litterae hanc sacerdotem initio aetatis imperatorum vixisse indicant." However, in this case, too, the letter forms

are also similar to those of the beginning of the first century.³⁵ So there is no evidence opposed to the positive evidence of *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ., loc. cit.*, that the date of Glauce's priesthood was around the end of the second century and the beginning of the first.

She came from a wealthy and distinguished family.³⁶

6. Ἀμεινόκλεια Φιλάνθου Φυλασίου θυγάτηρ. *I.G.*, II², 3220; 3495. In office probably in the second half of the second century or the beginning of the first.

I.G., II², 3220 incorrectly reads: ἐπὶ [ἱερείας] Ἀμεινοκλείας Φαλ[---]. The stone shows: Φιλ[---].³⁷ The entire name can be restored as Φιλ[άνθου Φυλασίου θυγατρὸς] on the basis of *I.G.*, II², 3495, which reads:

Ἱέρειαν Δήμητρος καὶ Κ[όρης] ---
Φιλάνθου Φυλασίου [θυγατέρα].

And Ἀμεινόκλειαν can in turn now be restored in line 1 of this inscription.

Both inscriptions are dated by Kirchner to the first century before Christ. However, according to Sundwall's stemma of this family (*N.P.A.*, p. 39) there are two men of Phyle eligible to be her father; the first Philanthes was active in the earlier part of the second century and his mother's name was Ameinocleia³⁸; one of his sons is also called Philanthes. Since the lettering of neither inscription precludes a date in the middle or second half of the second century, nothing prevents us, in harmony with the known prosopographical information, from dating this priestess that early. In this case she will have been in office before Glauce; but it is also possible that she was the daughter of Philanthes the younger and succeeded Glauce, in the early years of the first century. It should be noted that it is possible that the second Philanthes as Sundwall conceives him is really identical with the first one.

According to *I.G.*, II², 3495 Ameinocleia had two sons and one daughter, but we do not know whether she was still married when she was a priestess. She belonged to a wealthy and politically distinguished family.³⁹

FIRST HALF OF THE FIRST CENTURY B.C.

The "priestess of Demeter [-----]" is mentioned in *I.G.*, II², 1044, a decree dated to the first half of the first century before Christ, and the hierophant is also mentioned; but the decree is too fragmentary to yield any information about either priesthood.

²⁸ *Hesperia* 37 (1968): p. 289, no. 29.

²⁹ *I.G.*, II², 949, lines 9-10.

³⁰ Deubner, 1932: pp. 67-68.

³¹ *I.G.*, I², 81; see above, p. 14.

³² See above, in connection with the hierophant Lacrateides (no. 4).

³³ *P.A.*, 9894 and *I.G.*, II², 912.

³⁴ *I.G.*, II², 2452, line 30; *P.A.*, 9895.

³⁵ Kirchner described the rho's of *I.G.*, II², 4690 as ϱ. The oblique stroke actually occurs on only one rho, and there it appears to be a later scratch.

³⁶ Cf. *P.A.*, 9894 and 9895.

³⁷ *I.G.*, III, 921 gives the correct reading.

³⁸ *P.A.*, 14224.

³⁹ Cf. stemma of Sundwall in *N.P.A.*, *loc. cit.*

SECOND OR FIRST CENTURY B.C.

An inscribed altar of this period,⁴⁰ dedicated to Demeter and Kore and found "beneath the modern house in the area of the Eleusinion," mentions a priestess as eponymous, probably the priestess of Demeter and Kore, but her name is not preserved (except perhaps for a couple of letters from her patronymic).

7. Χάριον Διονυσίου Μαραωνίου θυγάτηρ. *I.G.*, II², 3498.
First or second century B.C.

She is the eponymous priestess on a dedication set up at Eleusis in honor of a girl hearth-initiate and *kanephoros* of Sarapis. Kirchner suggests a possible relationship with the Dionysius of Marathon who was priest of Dionysus around the beginning of the second century.⁴¹ By its lettering the inscription could be dated to the second as well as the first century before Christ.

8. Κλεοκράτη Οίνοφίλου Ἀφιδναίου θυγάτηρ. *I.G.*, II², 3490; 4704; 4716. Toepffer, 1889: 98. *P.A.*, 8566. Stemma: A. Wilhelm, *Beiträge zur griechischen Inschriftenkunde*, p. 85. In office in the middle of the first century B.C.

She appears as the eponymous priestess in a dedication to Medeius son of Medeius of Peiraeus (*I.G.*, II², 3490), exegete of the Eumolpidae⁴² and archon around 65.⁴³ Her father was basileus in 88/7.⁴⁴

Her name should probably be restored in *I.G.*, II², 4716, as follows:

- [ἐπὶ ἱερέας Κλεοκρά]τῆας
4 [Οίνοφίλου Ἀφιδ]ναίου
[θυγατρὸς].

Skias's restoration of [—Γ]ναίου in line 4 is out of place, since here we expect not a praenomen but a demotic. His own majuscule text and the stone itself show that Τ is possible at the end of line 3.

9. Κλεώ Εὐκλέους Φλυέως θυγάτηρ, γόνῳ δὲ Νικοδήμου Ἑρμείου. *I.G.*, II², 2879; 3261; 3530; 3604; 4720; 4721; 4722. Toepffer, 1889: 98. In office from sometime in the reign of Tiberius to around 70 A.D.

She occurs as the eponymous priestess on a dedication to Tiberius (*I.G.*, II², 3261), on a dedication to a high-priest of Tiberius (*I.G.*, II², 3530),⁴⁵ and on the statue base (*I.G.*, II², 3604) of the hearth-initiate Claudia Alcia, daughter of Claudius Hipparchus,

⁴⁰ *Hesperia* 32 (1963): pp. 42–43, no. 48.

⁴¹ *P.A.*, 4213.

⁴² See Oliver, *Expounders*, p. 146.

⁴³ For the date see Dinsmoor, *Archons of Athens in the Hellenistic Age* (Cambridge, Mass., 1931), p. 282.

⁴⁴ *I.G.*, II², 1714, as dated by S. Dow, *Hesperia* 3 (1934): pp. 144–146.

⁴⁵ Cf. Oliver, *Expounders*, p. 83.

the grandfather of Herodes Atticus. On the first two monuments she is called the daughter of Eucles of Phlya, but *I.G.*, II², 3604 and 4720–4722 show that her real father was Nicodemus of Hermos and that Eucles adopted her.

The omission of the name of the priest in the third line of *I.G.*, II², 4720 raises doubts about the correctness of the edition of this inscription, and the monument confirms them. Line 1 does not exist; there is a molding above line 2; above that is a flat surface on which nothing is inscribed and above this surface the original top of the epistyle seems to be preserved. The right side is not original as Kirchner notes, but neither is the left side. However, it is possible that the present right side is close to the original. The following tentative text has been constructed with this possibility in mind:

- 1 [Ἱερεία Δήμητρος καὶ Κόρης Κλεώ Εὐκλέους Φλυέως
θυγά]τηρ, γόνῳ δὲ Νικοδήμου Ἑ[ρ] [ca. 35]
2 [μείου καὶ _____]ου καὶ
ἱερέως Σεβαστῆς Δικα[ι]
3 [σοῦνης ἀνέθηκαν τῇ Δήμητρι καὶ τῇ Κόρῃ καὶ τῇ
Δικαί]σοῦνι καὶ τῷ Δήμῳ. *vacat*

According to this reconstruction the priest's name and titles would have appeared in line 2, [—]ου being the termination of a title such as [ἀρχιερέως διὰ βί]ου. As the monument is dedicated to Demos in addition to Justice and (probably) Demeter and Kore, Demos is probably to be regarded as a deity here. And as Demeter and Kore and Justice were the deities served by the dedicators, Demos may also have been so served; that is, the priest of Σεβαστῇ Δικαιοσύνῃ (otherwise unknown at Athens) may also have been a priest of a cult of Demos; thus his title might be restored as ἱερέως Σεβαστῆς Δικα[ιοσύνης καὶ Δήμου]. At Athens only a priest of the Demos and Graces is attested.⁴⁶ Several inscriptions which refer to Δικαιοσύνη as a god are cited by L. Robert in *Mélanges syriens offerts à René Dussaud* 2 (Paris, 1939): pp. 731–732, including two that mention ministers of the cult: a ἱερέως Δικαιοσύνης (at Mylasa-Olymos)⁴⁷ and a ἱερεα [διὰ βίου? τῆς] Δικαιοσύνης τῆς [πόλεως] (at Heracleia in Caria, 73/4 A.D.).⁴⁸ The latter should perhaps be restored to read ἱερεα [Σεβαστῆς] Δικαιοσύνης. Apparently this cult goes back to a cult of *Iustitia* established by Augustus and called *Iustitia Augusta*.⁴⁹

⁴⁶ For the sanctuary of the Demos and Graces in the Agora and its priests see R. Wycherly, *The Athenian Agora*, III, *Literary and Epigraphical Testimonia* (Princeton, 1957), pp. 59–61. A priest of the Graces alone is attested in the decree for the daduch Themistocles, above, p. 51, lines 10–11 (the same person was also priest of Artemis Epipyrgidia.)

⁴⁷ *B.C.H.* 22 (1898): p. 394, no. 42, line 5.

⁴⁸ *Sitzungsberichte Berlin*, 1933: p. 856.

⁴⁹ For a discussion of it see K. Latte, *Römische Religionsgeschichte* (Munich, 1960), p. 300. The *Fasti Praenestini*, *C.I.L.*, I², p. 231, record a *signum Iustitiae Augustae* probably dedicated by

The appearance of Cleo as eponymous priestess on the dedication in honor of Claudia Alcia shows that her tenure extended well past the middle of the first century.⁵¹

FIRST CENTURY A.D.

The dedication *I.G.*, II², 2954, dated approximately to the first century after Christ, reads as follows (with slight changes at the ends of lines 1–2 because of space and a different interpretation of line 4):

[-----] θυγάτηρ ἱέρηα
[τῆς Δήμητρος καὶ τῆς Κόρης καὶ] τὰ γένη ἐξ ὧ[ν]
[αὶ ἱέρηαι γίγνονται . . . ^{ca. 9} . . .] δαι, Φιλλεΐδα[ι]
[εὐσεβείας ἕνεκα καὶ τῆς εἰς αὐτ]ὰ εὐεργεσίας.

This confirms the notice of Photius cited above (p. 68) that the Philleidae were a *genos* that supplied this priestess, and it shows that another *genos* as well could supply the priestess. The names of many *gene* would fit the space. The name of the dedicatee probably appeared on another part of the monument.

10. Φλαυία Λαοδάμεια Κλείτου Φλυέως θυγάτηρ. *I.G.*, II², 3557; as eponymous priestess: *I.G.*, II², 3546; 3559; 3560⁵¹; 4753; 4754; 'Αρχ. 'Εφ. 1971: p. 131, no. 27. Stemma: C. P. Jones, *H.S.C.P.* 71 (1966): p. 210. Toepffer, 1889: pp. 98–99. Woloch, 1966: Flavia no. 78. In office around the beginning of the second century to sometime in the reign of Hadrian.

She was the wife of M. Annii Pythodorus, priest of Delian Apollo 113/4–125/6.⁵² Her son Annii Thrasyllus was ephebe in 112/3 (*I.G.*, II², 2024, lines 2–4). Her granddaughter Aristocleia married Junius Patron, the son of an exegete, and their daughter Junia Melitine became a hierophantid (no. 9). Her other distinguished relatives are illustrated in Jones's stemma.⁵³

Since her son was ephebe in 112/3, she could not have been born later than 80 A.D. Jones points out that *I.G.*, II², 3557 cannot be dated earlier than *ca.*

Augustus, and Ovid, *Epistulae ex Ponto*, III, 6, lines 23–26, refers to a temple of Justice which Augustus had erected:

Principe nec nostro deus est moderator ullus;
iustitia vires temperat ille suas.
Nuper eam Caesar facto de marmore templo,
iam pridem posuit mentis in aede suae.

Other mentions of the cult in Italy cited by Latte are *C.I.L.*, IX, 4133 and 5890; *C.I.L.*, VI, 2250 is in honor of a sacerdos Iustitiae, not, as Latte writes, a sacerdos Iustitiae Augustae (unless Augustae is to be restored).

⁵⁰ For the date of Claudia Alcia see stemma *ad I.G.*, II², 3595.

⁵¹ Kirchner omitted the last line of this inscription which was correctly recorded by Philios: τῆς Κλείτου Φλυέως θυγατρός.

⁵² See C. P. Jones, *op. cit.*, pp. 207–208.

⁵³ She probably is not the priestess referred to in line 1 of *I.G.*, II², 3559; for it is doubtful whether, if she were, she would also be inscribed again as the eponymous priestess. As a matter of fact, *ἱερέων* is not at all a necessary restoration.

110; a date of *ca.* 125 seems to be appropriate, since she is honoring her great-granddaughter as a παῖς ἀφ' ἑστίας.

11. Κλαυδία Τειμοθέα Τειμοθέου Γαργηττίου θυγάτηρ. As eponymous priestess: *I.G.*, II², 3584; 3585; 3586; 3587; 3588. Toepffer, 1889: p. 99. Woloch, 1966: Claudia no. 123. In office during the reign of Hadrian.

Of the dedications on which she appears as the eponymous priestess *I.G.*, II², 3586 can be dated on prosopographical grounds to the reign of Hadrian.

12. Κλαυδία Τατάριον Μενάνδρου Γαργηττίου θυγάτηρ. *I.G.*, II², 4868; *Hesperia* 23 (1954): p. 257, no. 42. In office in the first or second century.

She dedicated two monuments, one at Eleusis (*I.G.*, II², 4868, now lost), and a statue base in the Agora (*Hesperia*, *loc. cit.*)⁵⁴ Neither can be dated more accurately than by letter-style. She may be a descendant of the Menander son of Asclepiodorus of Gargettos who was ἱερεὺς συνκλή[του 'Ρώμης] καὶ Δήμου καὶ Χαρίτων.⁵⁵

13. [---]αμας τῆς [---]θυγατρός]. *I.G.*, II², 4767. First or second century.

14. Διώνη. *I.G.*, II², 3568. As eponymous priestess on a dedication at Eleusis of an unknown hearth-initiate. First or second century.

E. Kapetanopoulos⁵⁶ published a slightly improved edition of *I.G.*, II², 3568, in which the last line is edited: ἐπὶ ἱερ[είας] Μ[ε]μ[ε] Διώνης. However, Μ[ε]μ[ε] appears to be impossible; the stone clearly shows Α[---]; the second of these letters lacks the central horizontal stroke characteristic of epsilon and so appears to be sigma (though gamma or pi are also possible). So this line should be edited as follows: ἐπὶ ἱερ[είας] ^{ca. 5} ας [³⁻⁴] Διώνης. This spacing can be seen in Kapetanopoulos' photograph of the squeezes (where clearly fragments *a* and *c* are too close together). A gentilicium would suit the first lacuna with ας being the end of it, e.g., [Κλαυδί]ας; but the second lacuna is puzzling; perhaps we must reckon with a defect in the stone as between the second and third letters of line 4.

15. [^{ca. 5}]νη ἐκ Χολλειδῶν. Second century? A tripod base at Delphi (*B.C.H.* 83 [1959]: pp. 191–192) has on it the following inscription, as edited by J. Bousquet:

⁵⁴ Here [ἱερέα] may have been inscribed above the first line in the center.

⁵⁵ *I.G.*, II², 3547.

⁵⁶ 'Αρχ. 'Εφ. 1968: p. 190, no. 18 and pl. 12a.

Ἰέρεια [Δήμητρος καὶ] Κόρης
 Ἐλευσε[νίων .^{ca.} 5.]νη ἐκ Χολ
 λειδῶν Ἀ[πόλλωνι Πυ]θίωι. 

Restoration of Διώνη, the priestess in *I.G.*, II², 3568 (see above), is possible, but would require a *vacat* or a leaf before it, unless, as I think is preferable, Ἐλευσε[νίων] is to be read, in which case the lacuna could hold a gentilicium: Ἐλευσε[νίων] Διώνη. Even so, the priestess's name is far from certain.

Ca. 150 A.D.

A priestess of Demeter and Kore whose name is not preserved perhaps appears on a dedication to Bradua, Herodes' son, as hearth-initiate (*I.G.*, II², 3608) around the middle of the second century, but a different restoration by Kapetanopoulos, which excludes the priestess, appears to be also a possibility.⁵⁷

160-170

The priestess of Demeter and Kore appears in the list of recipients of the Eleusinian endowment of 160-170 (*I.G.*, II², 1092). Her position in this list is discussed above (pp. 35-36).

16. Αἰλία Ἐπίλαμψις Αἰλ Γέλωτος Φαληρέως θυγάτηρ. *I.G.*, II², 3687. Stemma: *I.G.*, II², 3687 and Woloch, *Historia* 18 (1969): p. 510. In office around the end of the second century.

A statue of her was set up at Eleusis (*I.G.*, II², 3687) by her grandson Pomponius Hegias (while he was archon) and by her granddaughter Pomponia Epilampsis. She must have been a very old woman if she lived to see her grandson serve as archon, that is, if he served at the normal age of thirty or above. Since hieronymy was not practiced in the case of the priestess of Demeter and Kore, we cannot be completely sure that she was still alive at this time; but if she were dead, it is unlikely that the dedication would have been made many years after her death.

Since her son was archon around 180 it is improbable that she was born after 135. Thus we need not hesitate in regarding Notopoulos's date of "after ca. 226/7" for the year of her grandson's archonship as somewhat unlikely⁵⁸; a date around the end of the second century would be more reasonable for her statue base and his archonship; this was Graindor's date.⁵⁹ Notopoulos's argument for the later date is that Hegias's hoplite-generalship came before his archonship, but examples of the opposite order are available.

The inscription mentions several of her relatives and all their past offices and honors, among them the highest Athenian political offices. And in addition

to their political offices, her father was priest of Olympian Zeus (line 6), and her cousin Aelius Ardys was high-priest and priest of Dionysus Eleuthereus (lines 11-12).

Toepffer maintains that since some of her cousins were heralds of the Areopagus, she was the daughter of a member of the Kerykes, on the basis of Dittenberger's theory⁶⁰ that heralds of the Areopagus in the Empire were drawn from this *genos*. The Eumolpidae mentioned as heralds of the Areopagus in *I.G.*, II², 3592 are enough to disprove this. More substantial evidence for her membership in this *genos* is offered by the fact that her cousin Aelius Ardys was high-priest, and the only high-priests of known *genos* were Kerykes.⁶¹ But if the Kerykes were one of the *gene* which supplied priestesses of Demeter and Kore, one would expect Κήρυκες to be restored in *I.G.*, II², 2954 (see above, p. 74) so as to read: τὰ γένη ἐξ ὧ[ν] αἱ Ἰέρειαι γίνονται, Κήρυκες, ---]δαι, Φιλλεῖδαι. In this case the restoration of another person in the line above is required, with the result that the names of even more *gene* will have to be restored alongside Κήρυκες; so the restoration of Κήρυκες appears somewhat improbable, though not impossible.⁶² One ought to consider the possibility that high-priests were taken from other *gene* besides the Kerykes, just as there were other important priesthoods in Athens whose members were drawn from more than one *genos*, for example, the priesthood of Apollo Patrous.⁶³

17. Ἰθάκη. Eponymous priestess on a dedication to a hearth-initiate, *I.G.*, II², 3723 (once located in a private house at Eleusis, now apparently lost). Roman period.

18. Daughter of Epigonus of Sypalletes (?). Eponymous priestess on a dedication at Eleusis, *I.G.*, II², 4096 (now on Salamis). No date is given.

Νικοβούλη ἡ καὶ Ἰλάρα Θεοτίμου ἐξ Ἑρμείου θυγάτηρ. *I.G.*, II², 4777 (= 4750). Priestess of Demeter and Kore?

She set up a dedication on the Acropolis to Demeter Chloë.⁶⁴ Since only the title ἡ Ἰέρεια is inscribed, we cannot be certain that she was a priestess of Demeter and Kore. The place of dedication and the goddess indicates she was more likely the priestess of Demeter Chloë. Her father was probably the Theotimus son of Tryphon of Hermos who was *prytanis* in 167/8 (*I.G.*, II², 1774, line 45), as Kirchner suggested.

⁶⁰ Toepffer, 1889: p. 96. Dittenberger, *Hermes* 20 (1885): p. 37.

⁶¹ See Oliver, *Expounders*, p. 98.

⁶² τὰ γένη may not refer to all the *gene* from which priestesses were drawn.

⁶³ Polycharmus son of Eucles of Marathon was high-priest and priest of Apollo Patrous (*I.G.*, II², 3530: Oliver, *Expounders*, p. 93). The exegete of the Eumolpidae in *I.G.*, II², 3621 was a priest of Apollo Patrous; see the new edition of this inscription in *Arch. Ep.* 1971: p. 116, no. 9.

⁶⁴ Kirchner mistakenly reproduced part of it as *I.G.*, II², 4750.

⁵⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 212; and see below, p. 110.

⁵⁸ *Hesperia* 18 (1949): p. 39.

⁵⁹ 1922: pp. 225-226.

Διονυσία Ἀ Γελλίου Ξεραγόρου θυγάτηρ. *I.G.*, II², 2342; 4824; *B.C.H.* 20 (1896): p. 719, as edited by Oliver, *Expounders*, I 52. Stemma: *ibid.*, p. 164. Around the middle of the third century. Priestess of Demeter and Kore?

She belonged to the very distinguished family of the Gellii of Delphi and Athens. She was an ἀρχηὺς at Delphi. She is never called ἱέρεια Δήμητρος καὶ Κόρης, nor does she appear as eponymous priestess on an Eleusinian monument. In *I.G.*, II², 2342 (lines 32–33) she is called Δήμητρος ὕστερον ἱέρεια, where the meaning of ὕστερον is somewhat obscure,⁶⁵ and she made a dedication at Eleusis as Δήμητρος ἱέρεια. Her title, consistently Δήμητρος ἱέρεια, is odd in comparison to the normal title of the priestess of Demeter and Kore at this period, ἱέρεια Δήμητρος καὶ Κόρης, and it raises doubts as to whether she filled the same priesthood.

J. Jannoray⁶⁶ understands ἀρχηὺς to mean a leader of a group of Thyiades, ἀρχηὺς Θυιάδων.

Her brother, and accordingly her father, belonged to the *genos* of the Kerykes.⁶⁷

The restoration of a priestess in *I.G.*, II², 4768 is uncertain.

GENERAL REMARKS

This priestess evidently had an important role in the *telele* (cf. especially the priestess Lysistrate, no. 1), but there is no certain information concerning details.

In the cult in general, scattered testimonia show that she had a strong position. In the fifth century she was in charge of a special expense fund of 1,600 drachmas, though apparently she had nothing to do with the ἀπαρχή, which was administered by the hierophant and daduch. In 415 one priestess defied the state and all other Eleusinian sacred officials in refusing to curse Alcibiades. In the fourth century legal battles were fought between her and the hierophant over sacral rights, and in one case a hierophant was convicted of impiety for usurping her rights at the Haloa where she was the principal celebrant. She also had a principal role at the Eleusinia; in addition, she was involved in the festivals of the Thesmophoria and probably also the Calamaea. In one inscription in which the hierophant, daduch, and priestess of Demeter and Kore are mentioned (*I.G.*, II², 204), only she and the hierophant are requested to make a sacrifice. At this time, then, it would appear that the priestess of Demeter and Kore and the hierophant were the two most important *religious* officials of the sanctuary.

⁶⁵ It may have a parallel in Pseudo-Plutarch, *Lives of the Ten Orators*, 843b (= *Expounders*, p. 137, T 30): Φιλίππη ἦτις ἱεράσατο τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ὕστερον· πρότερον δ' αὐτὴν γήμας Διοκλῆς... It would seem to mean here that she became a priestess after having married.

⁶⁶ *B.C.H.* 70 (1946): p. 259.

⁶⁷ Geagan, 1967: p. 169, line 212.

The priestess's participation in so many Eleusinian festivals (more, apparently, than even the hierophant) suggests that this priesthood was a very ancient part of the cult; and this is also apparent in her title: the priestess of *Demeter and Kore*. No other priest or priestess of the sanctuary bears the individual names of its goddesses in their titles. And it is a general rule at Athens that the original minister of a goddess was a priestess and of a god a priest. Thus there is good reason to believe this priestess was probably attached to the sanctuary at an earlier date than the hierophant.⁶⁸

Whether her position had declined by the Roman period is hard to say. Certainly she was very respected, as is indicated by the dedications to individual priestesses as well as by her appearance on Eleusinian monuments as the eponymous priestess of the sanctuary (first attested in the second century B.C.). In the procession of the Mysteries she probably walked at the head of the group of priestesses, perhaps alongside the priestess of Athena.⁶⁹

Her age and marital status are generally unknown. Aelia Epilampsis was still in office at approximately seventy years of age, but the date of her assumption of the priesthood is not known. Nothing indicates that this was not a lifetime priesthood. Some priestesses had children, but it is not known whether marriage was a bar to the priesthood.

No certain family relationship between any of the priestesses is attested with certainty; thus heredity appears to be ruled out as the method of appointment. They were probably chosen either by election or by lot from among daughters of members of the *genos* of the Philleidae and one other *genos* (and perhaps others).⁷⁰

She lived in a "sacred house" within the sanctuary.⁷¹

IV. SACRED HERALD (ἱεροκῆρυξ)

In none of the very few testimonia for the sacred herald before the Roman period is the designation ἱεροκῆρυξ used.¹

He is called simply ὁ κῆρυξ in the charge made against Alcibiades for impersonating the hierophant, the daduch, and the (sacred) herald.² Since the charge referred to the revealing of at least part of the very essence of the Mysteries, the *hieria*, the sacred herald obviously had a part in the secret ceremonies which took place within the Telesterion.

⁶⁸ This is also the conclusion of Foucart (1914: pp. 216–220) and D. Feaver (*Y.C.S.* 15 [1957]: p. 125).

⁶⁹ See the discussion above, pp. 35–36, of *I.G.*, II², 1092.

⁷⁰ See above, pp. 68 and 74–75.

⁷¹ See above, p. 71.

¹ The ἱερός κῆρυξ in Pseudo-Demosthenes, *Against Neaera*, 78, was probably not the Eleusinian sacred herald (see Toepffer, 1889: p. 184).

² Plutarch, *Alcibiades*, 22; see above, pp. 15–16.

Ca. 460 B.C.

According to a law issued around this time,³ he received one obol from each initiate during the Mysteries.

1. Κλεόκριτος. Xenophon, *Hellenica*, II, 4, 20. P.A., 8570. In office in 403.

This man, called ὁ τῶν μυστῶν κῆρυξ, made a speech to the followers of the Thirty shortly after the battle in the Peiraeus between them and the Democrats. His speech makes no specific allusion to the Mysteries, but it is prefaced with the interesting statement: Κλεόκριτος ὁ τῶν μυστῶν κῆρυξ, μάλλ' εὐφωνος, κατασιωπησάμενος ἔλεξεν. *Euphonia* was naturally a desirable characteristic for a sacred herald, as it was also for the hierophant.

Ca. 330-ca. 270

In a list of sacrifices connected with Eleusinian cults which was inscribed in this period one entry⁴ ordains that the κῆρυξ is to be treated to a meal together with the hierophant on the fifth day of Pyanopson, when they went to Athens and announced the festival of the Proerosia. We have no reason to identify this "herald" as any but the sacred herald himself.⁵ On this occasion the sacred herald was the "voice" of the hierophant.⁶

20/19 B.C.

In the decree honoring the daduch Themistocles (20/19) he is called ὁ κῆρυξ ταῖν θεᾶν, and the name of the incumbent at this time was:

2. Διονύσιος Δημοστράτου Παλληνεύς. Above, p. 51, line 12. In office in 20/19.

Previous writers who treated the sacred herald did not have available to them any specific testimonia proving that the sacred herald belonged to the *genos* of the Kerykes, even though it seemed inescapable that this was his *genos*. Good evidence can now be found in the decree for the daduch Themistocles (no. 16). The decree was proposed by a group of men, with one of them, Diotimus son of Diodorus of Halai, acting as spokesman. The group consisted of: twenty men "chosen by the *genos* of the Kerykes," who were therefore undoubtedly members of the *genos*,⁷ in company with (μετά): a group of men who

were all religious officials. Included among the latter was the sacred herald Dionysius. Demonstratus, son of Dionysius of Pallene, who was more likely the sacred herald's son than his father, appears among the group "chosen by the *genos* of the Kerykes" (line 25), thus providing good evidence that his father the sacred herald was a member of this *genos* and that the office of sacred herald was traditionally filled from this *genos*.⁸

A κῆρυξ παναγῆς with the name Theophilus son of Menecrates of Cholleidai follows the sacred herald in the group of priests in this document. Thus the first four priests mentioned are in the following order: the altar-priest, the πυρφόρος (who was also the priest of the Graces and Artemis Epipyrgidia), the κῆρυξ ταῖν θεᾶν, and the παναγῆς κῆρυξ. With this may be compared the order of the three priests who appear at the end of I.G., I², 6⁹: [τ]ὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς βομοῖς ἱερέα καὶ τὸν [τ]ὸν θεοῖν καὶ τὸν ἱερέα τὸν [τ]ὸν παναγῆς. Foucart restored here the second priest as τὸν [τ]ὸν φαίδυντῆν. But the appearance in the decree for Themistocles of the παναγῆς κῆρυξ (who is also called elsewhere κῆρυξ παναγῆς καὶ ἱερέως)¹⁰ so high in the list of priests of the Kerykes indicates that he was a rather important priest; thus one should probably not expect to find in I.G., I², 6 the *phaedynles*, a rarely attested official,¹¹ between the παναγῆς and the altar-priest, but rather, as in the list in the decree for Themistocles: τὸν κέρυκα | τὸν θεοῖν. This in fact fits the space perfectly.

⁸ The great-grandson of this sacred herald was hoplite general in 45/6: see I.G., II², 3242 and Dinsmoor, *Hesperia* 30 (1961): p. 194. He was also priest of the goddess Rome and the Emperor, a priesthood that was the precursor of the high-priesthood, the incumbents of which were mostly if not always members of this *genos* (see Oliver, *Expounders*, pp. 85-98).

It seems probable that the group of priestly officials who spoke in company with those chosen by the Kerykes represents all those Kerykes who were at that time holding a priesthood. If this is true, our document takes on an even greater value, presenting us with a list of all priesthoods controlled by this *genos* at this time. The hypothesis would then explain the distinction made between them and "the chosen": a motion was passed in a special assembly of the Kerykes that the *genos* should propose to the Demos that the Demos honor Themistocles the daduch; this motion also specified that the proposal should be brought before the Demos by all priestly members of the *genos* and by twenty other members chosen specifically for this purpose. The authorization of the latter group by the *genos* had to be stated when they made the proposal (οἱ κατασταθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ Κηρύκων γένους), but the priests were well known as members of this *genos*, in fact as its most distinguished members and its natural spokesmen, hence no statement of authorization was needed for them.

Other evidence that the sacred heralds were taken from the Kerykes is the fact that the grandson of Nicagoras (no. 12) was a daduch. The best evidence is, now, the letter of Marcus Aurelius which shows that Mamertinus tried to change his *genos* to the Kerykes in order to become a sacred herald (see discussion below, append. IV, p. 122); the above discussion was written before this letter was available to me.

⁹ See the new edition of this section above, pp. 10-11.

¹⁰ I.G., II², 5048.

¹¹ He is discussed below, p. 95.

³ I.G., I², 6; for a new edition of the relevant part see above, pp. 10-11; for the restoration of the sacred herald in line 47 see below, p. 77, no. 2.

⁴ I.G., II², 1363, as edited by Dow and Healey, *A Sacred Calendar of Eleusis* (Cambridge, Mass., 1965), line 2.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 18-19.

⁶ See above, p. 22.

⁷ Cf. W. S. Ferguson, *Hesperia* 7 (1938): p. 51, and Oliver, *Expounders*, p. 149. There is certainly no evidence that anyone in this group was not a member, and Themistocles son of Xenocles of Hagnous (line 23), the cousin of the daduch Themistocles, certainly was a member.

EARLY SECOND CENTURY A.D.

Suetonius wrote that the emperor Nero did not attend the Mysteries on his journey through Greece in 66/7 because he was afraid of being turned away¹²: "Eleusiniis sacris, quorum initiatione impii et scelerati voce praeconis summoventur, interesse non ausus est." Whether or not this was Nero's true motive for not attending, we do learn here that it was the sacred herald who made the announcement of the *prorrhesis* of the Mysteries, whereas all other testimonia for the *prorrhesis* mention only "Eumolpidae and Kerykes" or "hierophant and daduch."¹³ Thus on this occasion the sacred herald would accompany the hierophant and the daduch and do the actual speaking for them, just as he did for the hierophant alone at the *prorrhesis* of the Proerosia.¹⁴

FIRST OR SECOND CENTURY A.D.

The title *ιεροκῆρυξ* occurs in a fragment of a catalog (*I.G.*, II², 1947) whose nature is obscure, dated by Kirchner to "saec. I/II post." The title *ιερεὺς μητρὸς θεῶν* also occurs in it; hence he called it a "*catalogus sacerdotalis*." The inscription is too fragmentary for us to ascertain whether the title *ιεροκῆρυξ* belongs with the name that precedes it or with the name that follows it.

3. Τίτος Κωπώνιος Μάξιμος Ἀγνούσιος. *I.G.*, II², 1072, lines 4-6; 3187; 3571; 3573; 3798; 4481; *Hesperia* 11 (1942): p. 39, no. 8, lines 18-22. Woloch, 1966: Coponius no. 3. In office from sometime before 117/8 to 119/20 or later.

He was epimelete of the Asclepieum sometime between 85/6 and 94/5 (*I.G.*, II², 4481), at which time he was not sacred herald; he was again epimelete of this sanctuary at an unknown date (*I.G.*, II², 3187), still not sacred herald; and again in 119/20 (*I.G.*, II², 3798), when he was sacred herald. In 117/8, the year of the archonship of his son Titus Coponius Maximus, he was simultaneously hoplite general and gymnasiarch for the second time, priest of Ares Enyalios, Enyo, and Zeus Geleon, as well as sacred herald (*I.G.*, II², 1072, lines 4-6). A dedication to him as hoplite general and gymnasiarch for the first time, therefore before 117/8, is also preserved (*I.G.*, II², 3573), at which time he was already *ιεροκῆρυξ τοῦ θεοῦ*.¹⁵

¹² Nero, 34. Cf. Foucart, *Revue de Philologie* 17 (1893): p. 199.

¹³ Scholion to Aristophanes' *Frogs*, 369: παρὰ τὴν τοῦ ἱεροφάντου καὶ δαδούχου πρόρρησιν τὴν ἐν τῇ ποικίλῃ στοᾷ; Isocrates, *Panegyricus*, 157: Εὐμολπίδαι δὲ καὶ Κήρυκες ἐν τῇ τελετῇ τῶν μυστηρίων . . . καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις βαρβάροις εἰργασθαι τῶν ἱερῶν ὥσπερ τοῖς ἀνδροφόνους προαγορεύουσιν; cf. Theon of Smyrna, p. 14 (ed. Hiller): οὕτε γὰρ ἅπασιν τοῖς βουλομένοις μετουσία μυστηρίων ἐστίν, ἀλλ' εἰσὶν οὗς αὐτῶν εἰργασθαι προαγορεύεται, οἷον τοὺς χεῖρας μὴ καθαρὰς καὶ φωνὴν ἀξύνετον ἔχοντας.

¹⁴ See above, p. 22.

¹⁵ The same title is a certain restoration in *I.G.*, II², 3571, a dedication in honor of his son.

The year 117/8 looks as though it were an extremely active one for this sacred herald. However, when we consider that the offices of hoplite general and gymnasiarch were largely financial in nature at this time,¹⁶ and that the tasks of the sacred herald in connection with the Mysteries and other Eleusinian cults were probably limited to those few occasions (in addition to the actual celebration of the Mysteries) when a herald's special talents were necessary,¹⁷ the simultaneous undertaking of all these magisterial and priestly burdens may not even have demanded considerable energy; but it certainly attests that he was a very wealthy and distinguished man.

At some time before he was sacred herald he filled the office of "epimelete of the city,"¹⁸ an office which was filled by "only the most important men in the city."¹⁹

In none of the inscriptions which were erected when he was serving as sacred herald is hieronymy observed.

His son's career consisted of the *agonothesia* of the Great Caesarea, the priesthood of Demos and the Graces, and leadership of the Stoic School, all of which occurred before his archonship in 117/8.²⁰ We do not know whether he was ever sacred herald. Of the sacred herald's grandson all that is known is that he was ephebic gymnasiarch in 112/3-125/6.²¹

4. Δούκιος Νούμμιος Νιγρέϊνος Γαργήττιος. *I.G.*, II², 2342, line 8; 3574; 4069; 4070; *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.* 1971: pp. 131-132, no. 29. Woloch, 1966: Nummius no. 5, with stemma, p. 84. In office before 166/7.

He was the father of Nummia Bassa, who married the daduch Praxagoras and also L. Nummius Phaedreas of Phaleron (who was perhaps a Eumolpid).²² Hieronymy was observed on monuments in which he appears while alive. His identity is revealed in a genealogical table inscribed around the beginning of the fourth century (*I.G.*, II², 2342, line 8), where the sacred herald Nigrinus is listed as the father of Bassa. A monument erected after his death (*I.G.*, II², 3574) is preserved with the inscription Νού(μμιος) Νιγρέϊνος *ιεροκῆρυξ*, certainly the same man.

Possibly he is the sacred herald in the *aisitōi* list of *I.G.*, II², 1789 (see below, append. IV).

¹⁶ It would be more accurate to say that the hoplite generalship could be largely financial, with some of its authority delegated to others; see Geagan, 1967: pp. 30-31, and for the gymnasiarch, *ibid.*, pp. 128-132, and above, p. 36, n. 182.

¹⁷ That is, he was probably not responsible for administrative matters as the hierophant and daduch were.

¹⁸ *Hesperia* 11 (1942): p. 39, no. 8, 15-22.

¹⁹ Geagan, *op. cit.*, pp. 117-118.

²⁰ *I.G.*, II², 3571 and 1072, line 1. See Woloch, 1966: Coponius no. 4.

²¹ *I.G.*, II², 2029, line 21. See Woloch, 1966: Coponius no. 5.

²² *I.G.*, II², 4069-4070; 2342, line 8. On Phaedreas see above, p. 40.

160-170

The position of the sacred herald in the list of recipients of the Eleusinian endowment of 160-170 (*I.G.*, II², 1092) and in the prohedria seating in the Theater of Dionysus is discussed above (pp. 35-36) and below, append. III.

5. Πεινάριος. *I.G.*, II², 1773 (166/7 A.D.); 1774 (167/8 A.D.); 1775 (168/9 A.D.); 1776 (169/70 A.D.). In office from 166/7 or earlier to at least 169/70, probably to 174/5.

His name occurs, hieronymously, only in the *aeisitoi* lists indicated above, for the years 166/7 to 169/70.²³ He may have been the father of C. Pinarius Proculus of Hagnous, who was archon sometime between 180/1 and 191/2.²⁴

6. Πόπλιος Ἑρέννιος Ἱεροκῆρυξ Ἀπολλωνίου Ἑρμείου. *I.G.*, II², 1782 (*ca.* 180)²⁵; 1788 (174/5); 1798 (190/1); 1792 (191/2 or 192/3); *Hesperia* 11 (1942): p. 36, no. 6 (*ca.* 186); *I.G.*, II², 3665; 3666. Stemma: *ad I.G.*, II², 3665. In office from 174/5 to about 192.

His name occurs in hieronymous form in five *aeisitoi* lists (the first five inscriptions cited above).²⁶ It is suggested in appendix IV that he took office in 174/5, the year in which Marcus Aurelius ruled that the election of Mamertinus was invalid and called for a new election. His last appearance in an *aeisitoi* list, *I.G.*, II², 1792, would have been in 191 or 192.²⁷

He dedicated a herm to his father Apollonius the sophist (*I.G.*, II², 3665), and since he has a Roman name in this inscription whereas his father does not, he may have been the first in his family to receive Roman citizenship. One of his sons was a sacred herald (see below, no. 8), the other was a sophist and herald of the Areopagus (see stemma). His grandson, P. Herennius Dexippus (see below, p. 96), the historian and organizer of the defense against the Herulians in 267, also shared in the Eleusinian cult, as ἱερεὺς παναγῆς.

I.G., II², 3666, a dedication by the city to his son Ptolemaeus, is dated by Kirchner to the beginning of the third century, but because his father's name is given hieronymously as Π Ἑρέννιος Ἱεροκῆρυξ, it should be dated instead to 174/5—*ca.* 192.

7. Νούμμιος Ἱεροκῆρυξ. *I.G.*, II², 1806 (*ca.* 194); 1790 (*ca.* 197); 1789 (204/5 ?). In office from around 194 to at least around 197.

²³ Also restored in *I.G.*, II², 1781 (169/70) and *Hesperia* 11 (1942): p. 50, no. 18 (168/9).

²⁴ This man's grandfather may have been Pinarius Proculus, ephebe between 112 and 125/6. See Woloch, 1966: Pinarius no. 1. Notopoulos (*Hesperia* 18 [1949]: p. 22) dates the year of the archon to 190/1 or 191/2.

²⁵ An improved reading of the herald's name in line 51 can be given: [Ἑ]ρ[ε]ν[ν]ος Ἱεροκ[ῆ]ρυξ. On the date see above, p. 61, n. 101.

²⁶ For their dates see appendix IV and above, note 25 and below, note 27.

²⁷ For the date see above, p. 38, note 200.

He was the successor of Herennius. His name occurs hieronymously in the *aeisitoi* lists cited above (in *I.G.*, II², 1790, in second place, ahead of the daduch).²⁸ He may have been the son of the previous Nummius who was sacred herald (no. 4).

LATE SECOND OR THIRD CENTURY A.D.

A prytany list dated by Oliver to the "late second or third century after Christ" contains the following heading²⁹:

[Ἑ]πὶ [ἄρχο]ντο[s -----]
Ἱερο[κ]ήρυκος Φ[----- οἱ πρυτάνεις]

The archon was a sacred herald, and according to the usual order of the sacred herald's name, nomen—*hierokeryx*—demotic, Φ[-----] must be the beginning of his demotic. One thinks immediately of Φαληρεὺς and a possible descendant of L. Nummius Phaedreas of Phaleron, the husband of Nummia Bassa, daughter of the sacred herald Nummius Nigrinus. But the Nummius who was hierophant around this time (hierophant no. 27) definitely had the demotic Φαληρεὺς and is therefore also to be considered as a possible descendant of Nummius Phaedreas. Thus it would be best not to assign Phaedreas with certainty to either *genos*, and to leave the archon Hierokeryx of the deme Φ[-----] unidentified until more information is available.

8. (Πόπλιος) Ἑρέννιος Ἱεροκῆρυξ Ἑρμείου. *I.G.*, II², 1077, line 42. Stemma: *ad I.G.*, II², 3665. In office in 209/10.

He probably succeeded Nummius. He was the son of sacred herald no. 6, P. Herennius son of Apollonius of Hermos (see stemma). He is probably not identical with P. Herennius Ptolemaeus, the sophist, herald of the Areopagus, polemarch, and agonothete of the Greater [Asclepi]eia³⁰; for if this were so, *I.G.*, II², 3667-3668 would have to be dated to the beginning of the third century rather than the middle, but *I.G.*, II², 3667 was dedicated by his son Dexippus who probably was not born before 200.³¹

9. Ἰούλιος Ἱεροκῆρυξ Ἰουλίου Μουσωνίου (Στειριεύς). Append. VII (= *I.G.*, II², 4075 + 4083). In office *ca.* 225.

²⁸ For the dates see append. IV. For a new reading of *I.G.*, II², 1790 see above, p. 40. The date of *I.G.*, II², 1789 is not completely certain; see append. IV. In 195/6 complete hieronymy was observed; only the title *hierokeryx* appears in the list (*I.G.*, II², 1806a), in second place again, with the daduch third.

²⁹ *Hesperia* 11 (1942): p. 66, no. 31.

³⁰ *I.G.*, II², 3666-3668; *S.I.G.*³, 877D; cf. F. Millar, *J.R.S.* 59 (1969): p. 19. I would restore the lacuna of line 5, *I.G.*, II², 3668 to read με[γάλων Ἀσκληπι]είων; cf. *I.G.*, II², 3614 and IV², 691, line 3; this is also recommended by the fact that 3688 was set up in the Asclepieum.

³¹ On his dates cf. Millar, *op. cit.*, pp. 19-21.

His father Julius Musonius held very distinguished political and religious offices; he was herald of the Areopagus, hoplite general, agonothete of the Olympia, priest of Olympian Zeus in Athens, and *phaedyntes* of Zeus at Olympia. As Kirchner noticed,³² he seems to be identical with Γ' Ιούλ Μουσώνιος Στέ(ιριεύς) who was ephebe in 161/2.³³ If so, we may date the dedication edited in appendix VII and the term of his son Julius Hierokeryx to the first quarter of the third century or perhaps slightly later, a date also recommended by the difficulty of fitting his term into the list of known sacred heralds of 165–210.

In *I.G.*, II², 4066 a Julius Optatus dedicated a statue of his daughter Julia Rufina as a thank-offering to Eileithyia. According to appendix VII a [---]ία 'Ρουφείνα is the mother of the present sacred herald. If Kirchner's date for 4066, "before the middle of the second century," is correct, they may be the same person.

10. Κασιανός 'Ιεροκῆρυξ Στειριεύς. *I.G.*, II², 2241; 3707.
In office in 230/1.

The archon in the year 230/1 was Κασιανός 'Ιεροκῆρυξ Στειριεύς.³⁴ The form of the name is a bit unusual. The rule of hieronymy demanded that the priest's Greek name be suppressed; thus, if the priest was a Roman citizen, he suppressed his cognomen or one of his cognomina. Here the Greek name was suppressed and a Roman cognomen is used as a nomen. However, the practice of using a cognomen as a nomen was often followed by families who had a rather common nomen; they would drop the nomen and use a distinctive cognomen in its place. We do know in fact an Athenian family of this period which had a common nomen and sometimes used Cassianus with this nomen but sometimes used just Cassianus as their nomen: the Julii of Steiria. Oliver, in another connection, suggested that this family is not related to Apollonius the sophist and hierophant (no. 29).³⁵ Raubitschek³⁶ and Woloch³⁷ have listed the evidence for the Julii of Steiria, but both of them in my opinion confuse two families.³⁸ I think that the families can be separated in the following way. The archon of 125/6 was C. Julius Cassius of Steiria.³⁹ His son is to

be identified with the ephebe Julius Cassius of Steiria in a list of *ca.* 160⁴⁰ and with the C. Julius Cassius who was ephebic basileus in 161/2.⁴¹ Both of these used Cassius as a cognomen. The first known member of the other family is C. Julius Cassianus Apollonius who was anticomete in 158/9 and comete in 161/2; in connection with the first office his name appears as Κασι(ανός) 'Απολλώνιος Στειριεύς⁴² and Κασιανός 'Απολλώνιος Στειριεύς,⁴³ and in connection with the second, Γ' Ιούλιος Κασιανός 'Απολλώνιος Στειριεύς.⁴⁴ His son is to be identified with the Κασιανός 'Απολλώνιος Στειριεύς who was *prytanis* around 210⁴⁵ and the Γ' Κασ 'Απολλώνιος Στειριεύς who was archon in 207/8,⁴⁶ in which case the abbreviation should be resolved as Κασ(ιανός), not Κάσ(ιος) as traditionally. The [Γ] Κασ(ιανός) [Ἀπο]λλώνιος Σ[τειριεύς] who was hoplite general in 188/9⁴⁷ was more likely the father than the son. The present sacred herald probably belongs to this family and is possibly the son, unless the previously discussed herald, no. 9, Julius son of Musonius of Steiria belongs to the same family and the two heralds are in reality identical.⁴⁸

The same form of his name (but lacking the demotic) occurs on a base erected in his honor by the *polis*, where he is called τὸν ἀφ' ἐστίας μύστην Κασιανὸν 'Ιεροκῆρυκα. He is the first Eleusinian sacred official up to now in this study who was also a hearth-initiate. The same inscription mentions that he was once ambassador to Britain at his own expense, agonothete of the Hadrianeia, general, eponymous archon, and then the stone breaks off.

11. (Μᾶρ 'Ιούνιος) Νικαγόρας Μνησαίου. *I.G.*, II², 3814. Philostratus, *Lives of the Sophists*, II, p. 127 (ed. Kayser). Suda, s.v. Νικαγόρας. W. Stegemann, *R.E.* 17 (1936): coll. 216–217. Stemma: O. Schissel, *Klio* 21 (1927): p. 371. In office from before 238 to the reign of Philip the Arab (244–249).

On a monument erected after his death (*I.G.*, II², 3814) he is called ὁ τῶν ἱερῶν κῆρυξ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς καθέδρας σοφιστῆς Πλουτάρχου καὶ Σέκστου τῶν φιλοσόφων ἕκγονος.

³² *I.G.*, II², 4083.

³³ *I.G.*, II², 2085, line 24.

³⁴ For the date see L. Moretti, *Iscrizioni Agonistiche Greche* (Rome, 1953), pp. 202–203, who shows that the same man is named as the archon in *I.G.*, II², 1832 and 2230 (= Mitsos, 'Αρχ. 'Εφ. 1950–1951: p. 47, no. 29), and that the restoration of this man in *I.G.*, II², 2242 is wrong.

³⁵ *Hesperia* 36 (1967): pp. 334–335; see above in connection with hierophant no. 29.

³⁶ *Hesperia*, Supplement 8 (1949): p. 283, n. 5.

³⁷ Woloch, 1966: p. 143.

³⁸ And so I regard Oliver's stemma in *Marcus Aurelius* (1970: p. 107, n. 8) as somewhat hypothetical but I agree that it is probably a question of two closely related families.

³⁹ *I.G.*, II², 2037, line 3 and *Inscriptions de Délos*, 2536, line 25.

⁴⁰ *I.G.*, II², 2081, line 22.

⁴¹ *I.G.*, II², 2085, lines 52–53.

⁴² *I.G.*, II², 3012; cf. *C.P.* 29 (1934): p. 150.

⁴³ *I.G.*, II², 2079, lines 3–4.

⁴⁴ *I.G.*, II², 2085.

⁴⁵ *I.G.*, II², 1826, line 15.

⁴⁶ *I.G.*, II², 2199, line 7; for the date see Notopoulos, *Hesperia* 18 (1949): pp. 34 and 53.

⁴⁷ *Hesperia*, Supplement 8 (1949): p. 282, lines 7–8 and *Hesperia* 11 (1942): p. 60, no. 25, where "the scribe or stone cutter resolved the abbreviation Κασ erroneously" as Κασσιου (quotation from Oliver, 1970: p. 107, n. 8).

⁴⁸ Perhaps also a member of this family is Cassianus Philippus of Steiria, hoplite general around 220 (*I.G.*, II², 1817), who may also be the archon to be restored in *I.G.*, II², 2242, now that Moretti (*loc. cit.*) has shown that Cassianus the sacred herald cannot be restored here.

He was a contemporary and friend of Philostratus, who refers to him as Νικαγόρας ὁ Ἀθηναῖος, ὃς καὶ τοῦ Ἐλευσινίου ἱεροῦ κῆρυξ ἐστέρφη, but because of their friendship refused to treat his life and work. Hence he was already sacred herald at the time Philostratus was writing (before 238),⁴⁹ and therefore certainly came after, and most probably succeeded, Cassianus (archon and sacred herald in 230/1).⁵⁰ His lifetime extended to the reign of Philip the Arab, to whom he sent a *πρεσβευτικὸς λόγος*,⁵¹ but probably did not extend much beyond 250 if at all.⁵²

His other writings included a *Famous Lives* (written perhaps with the work of his ancestor Plutarch in mind) and a piece called *Περὶ Κλεοπάτρας τῆς ἐν Τρωάδι* (probably a rhetorical model for his students).⁵³ He held the sophistic chair (*σοφιστὴς ἐπὶ τῆς καθέδρας*) originally established by Marcus Aurelius. The son of a great-grandson of a sibling of Plutarch, he, like other members of his distinguished family⁵⁴ of orators, sophists, and philosophers, was proud of his descent from the great writer.

His grandson M. Junius Nicagoras was daduch in the early fourth century (see above, daduch no. 30). This is the first direct relationship known between a sacred herald and a daduch; in all other known cases they have always belonged to relatively separate families.

The statement of Philostratus indicates that crowning was involved in the ceremony of installing the sacred herald. Also interesting is the fact that Nicagoras is called ὁ τῶν ἱερῶν κῆρυξ and ὁ τοῦ Ἐλευσινίου ἱεροῦ κῆρυξ but not *ιεροκῆρυξ*, and that Philostratus was not disturbed by not observing the custom of hieronymy. It does not seem advisable to argue that Nicagoras was already dead, since there is no reason to dispute the notice in the *Suda*.

GENERAL REMARKS

Foucart was of the opinion that the sacred herald was neither a priest nor a magistrate. This cannot be true. Only priests and magistrates were seated in the first row of the Theater of Dionysus, and the sacred herald was among them (*I.G.*, II², 5043).⁵⁵ Since no argument can be made that he was a magistrate, it follows that in the second century A.D. he certainly had at least the status of a priest. In addition, he is associated with other Eleusinian priests in the *aeisitoi* lists, and in the Eleusinian Endowment list he appears next to the altar-priest. As he is in-

cluded in the list of sacred officials of the *genos* of the Kerykes who proposed the decree of 20/19 honoring the daduch Themistocles, at this time, too, he was undoubtedly considered a priest. And if our restoration of *I.G.*, I², 6 is correct, he is listed, around 460 B.C., between the altar-priest and the priest "all-hallowed" as a recipient of emoluments at the Mysteries. Not long afterwards, in the charge against Alcibiades he is associated with the hierophant and the daduch. Thus he was probably considered a priest, or at least had the status of a priest, as early as the Classical period.

His function in the cult was evidently simply that of herald. He accompanied the hierophant and daduch at the *prorrhesis* of the Mysteries, and under their authority, made the actual announcement.⁵⁶ He did the same for the hierophant alone at the Proerosia.⁵⁷

It was shown above that the hierophant had a large speaking role during the secret ceremonies within the Telesterion, and it would seem that he alone pronounced the secrets. The herald had a different role. According to a passage in Sopater (VIII, p. 118, ed. Walz), the sacred herald *πρὸ πάντων ἐπιτάττει δημοσίᾳ τὴν σιωπὴν*. The hierophant, apparently, was not expected to shout above the din of the throng of initiates to demand their attention; this was the task of the herald.

Certainly his services must have been required often also during the procession, to announce instructions to the initiates or to call for silence.

We can infer that in the second century A.D. appointment to this priesthood was by election; for the fact that some of the heralds are related to one another casts doubt on allotment, and the lack of sufficiently consistent family relationships rules against heredity. Welcome confirmation of this is now given by the letter of Marcus Aurelius of 174, which mentions elections for this office.⁵⁸

The priesthood was for life. No living ex-heralds are known, and the use of hieronymy (which began for them sometime in the second quarter of the second century) is in agreement with this.

Nothing is known as to whether age was a factor in their appointment. In the Roman period personal prestige probably helped very much; practically every one of them came from a family of civic, religious, or academic distinction. One would naturally assume that the office was highly coveted at this time, and this is indeed vividly revealed by the letter of Marcus Aurelius.⁵⁹ Vocal properties may also have been taken into consideration, though our only evidence for this dates from the end of the fifth century B.C.: after the battle in the Peiraeus between the followers

⁴⁹ For 238 as *terminus ante quem* for Philostratus's *Lives* see Bowersock, 1967: p. 7 and above, pp. 41-42, n. 232.

⁵⁰ This gives 230/1 as a good *terminus post quem* for Philostratus's *Lives*.

⁵¹ *Suda*, loc. cit.

⁵² Cf. Schissel, *op. cit.*, p. 368.

⁵³ Cf. Stegemann, *op. cit.*, col. 217.

⁵⁴ The family is well described by Schissel, *op. cit.*

⁵⁵ Cf. *append. III*.

⁵⁶ See above, p. 56.

⁵⁷ See above, p. 22.

⁵⁸ Oliver, 1970: p. 4, lines 11-13.

⁵⁹ Cf. discussion above, pp. 61-63.

of the Thirty and the Democrats a sacred herald (no. 1) silenced a crowd and gave a speech; the herald is described as *μάλ' εὐφρωνος*.

In regard to his installation it is stated⁶⁰ that he was crowned, which perhaps refers to a myrtle crown; for the *strophion* is not attested for the sacred herald.⁶¹

The sacred herald could hold other priesthoods simultaneously (see no. 3).

V. ALTAR-PRIEST (ἱερεὺς ἐπὶ βωμῶ)

Of the function of this priest nothing is known beyond what is apparent from his title, that he had something to do with an altar. Foucart suggested that "he stood near the altar, probably in charge of striking the victims offered at the Mysteries, perhaps also making certain that they fulfilled the conditions of acceptability, and marking them with a sign."⁶² There was more than one altar at Eleusis; Demeter and Kore each had her own.² Ἐπὶ βωμῶ is indefinite and could signify that he performed functions at both; the occasional (evidently unintentional) use of the title ἐπὶ βωμῶν (see below) indicates that in fact he did.

Ca. 460 B.C.

On the stele erected around 460 containing extensive regulations concerning the priests and the cult, the remunerations of the altar-priest, the [sacred herald], and the priest [all-hallowed] were appended to the inscription by a different hand from that which engraved the main body of the inscription.³ The altar-priest's remuneration was one obol from each initiate.

THIRD TO FIRST CENTURIES B.C.

Several altar-priests⁴ are mentioned in the decree of 20/19 for the daduch Themistocles of Hagnous, as relatives of his.⁵ In addition, an altar-priest is mentioned at the head of the list of the priests of the *genos* of the Kerykes who proposed this decree,⁶ which shows that the altar-priest was drawn from this *genos*. Immediately following him are the *pyrphoros* and priest of Charites and Artemis Epipyrgidia (one person) and then the sacred herald (lines 8–12). If any protocol is observed here, the altar-priest ranked higher in prestige at this time than the sacred herald, as he perhaps did also in the fifth century (see above).

The dates of the following altar-priests mentioned in this decree as relatives of Themistocles have been

determined on the basis of the stemma and the discussion of the decree above, pp. 50–53.

1. Σήμων. Decree for Themistocles, above, p. 51, line 55. In office sometime before the end of the third century.

His relationship to Themistocles is unknown.

2. Ἱεροκλείδης. Decree for Themistocles, above, p. 51, line 55. In office sometime before the end of the third century.

His relationship to Themistocles is unknown.

3. Ἀντιφῶν. Decree for Themistocles, above, p. 51, line 55. In office sometime before the end of the third century.

He was altar-priest διὰ βίου. His relationship to Themistocles is unknown.

4. Ἀντιφῶν. Decree for Themistocles, above, p. 51, lines 49–50. Stemma: table 1, above, p. 58. In office around the end of the third century.

He was first altar-priest and then daduch (no. 8). He was a second cousin⁷ of the following altar-priest.

5. Φιλιστίδης Ἀγνούσιος. Decree for Themistocles, above, p. 51, lines 49–50. Stemma: table 1, above, p. 58. In office around the beginning of the second century.

He too became a daduch (no. 9) after having first served as an altar-priest. He was a second cousin of Antiphon, the preceding altar-priest.

6. Φιλοξενίδης Φιλιστίδου Ἀγνούσιος. Decree for Themistocles, above, p. 51, lines 42–43. Stemma: table 1, above, p. 58. In office in the first half of the second century.

He too became a daduch after having first served as an altar-priest. He probably directly succeeded his father.

7. Κηφισόδωρος Φιλιστίδου Ἀγνούσιος. Decree for Themistocles, above, p. 51, lines 43–44. Stemma: table 1, above, p. 58. In office around the middle of the second century.

He was the brother of Philoxenides and probably succeeded him in this priesthood, when Philoxenides resigned and assumed the *dadouchia*. He was the grandfather of Themistocles (daduch no. 14).

8. Λέοντιος Σοφοκλέους Ἀχαρνέως. Decree for Themistocles, above, p. 51, lines 41–42. Stemma: table 1, above, p. 58. In office in the second half of the second century, probably succeeding Cephisodorus.

⁷ See above, pp. 53–54.

⁶⁰ See Nicagoras, no. 12.

⁶¹ But see below, p. 116.

¹ 1914: p. 205.

² *J.G.*, II², 1672, line 141; 3585.

³ See the new edition above, pp. 10–11.

⁴ Called throughout Ἐπὶ Βωμοῦ.

⁵ See text and discussion above, pp. 50–53.

⁶ On this list see above, p. 77, n. 8.

As is clear from the description above, there can be no certainty at present about the margins of this inscription, and a third line is not available; Μελ]ιτίνην ἀν[έθηκεν --] is also possible.

Her maternal great-grandmother, Flavia Laodameia,

In *I.G.*, II², 3764 the mother of Aelius Apollonius is referred to as *ιερχῆς μητρός . . . ἡ τελετὰς ἀνέφαινε θεοῦν παρ' ἀνάκτορα Διοῦς*. It has been shown above (p. 64) that his parents probably are the P. Aelius Apollonius and Publia

4. *Αὐρήλιος Πυρφόρος Λαμπρεὺς*. *I.G.*, II². 1077, line 43.
In office in 209/10.

He appears among the *aeisitoi* in this year; hieronymy is observed, and his identity is unknown.

GENERAL REMARKS

This priest's function was concerned with maintaining the sacrificial fire of altars and hearths.¹¹

Despite the lack of testimony for the priesthood before 20/19 the information about it in the Roman period reveals that it was an important priesthood, supplied by the Kerykes. The *pyrphoros* had a prohedria seat in the theater, was included among the *aeisitoi* at the end of the second century,¹² and sometime in the first or second century began practicing hieronymy, all of which were privileges only of the most prestigious priesthoods. Thus it would be unwise to assume that the *pyrphoros* did not exist from an early date; and also unwise to assume that he gained in importance only towards the end of or after the Hellenistic period; for there are also very few testimonia for the sacred herald and altar-priest before the Roman Empire. However, it does seem safe to say that this priest had a low position in the cult as a whole. He is not mentioned in the law of ca. 460 B.C. (whereas the sacred herald and altar-priest are),¹³ and in the Eleusinian Endowment of 160–170 he appears only at the end of the second column of priests, with several priests intervening between the altar-priest and himself. It is only when he is included in a limited group of Eleusinian priests that he appears directly after the altar-priest, as in the *aeisitoi* lists and the decree of 20/19 in honor of the daduch Themistocles (where he even appears ahead of the sacred herald).

IX. OTHER SACRED OFFICIALS

Φαιδυντής

This sacred official is attested as early as the end of the sixth century in a fragmentary *boustrophedon* inscription,¹ next in the list of officials in the Eleusinian Endowment of ca. 160–70 A.D.,² and finally in a decree of 221/2 A.D.³ Besides his title, which indi-

and other objects of the cult, the only other information about his functions comes from the decree of 221/2 (which concerns the restoration of elements of the festival in *pristinum splendorem*). It mentions (lines 16–18) that when the procession from Eleusis with the *hiera* arrives at the Eleusinion in Athens “the *φαιδυντής τοῦν θεῶν*, in accordance with ancestral, custom, announces to the priestess of Athena that the *hiera* and escort have arrived.”

No dedications honoring incumbents of this priesthood are preserved, probably a sign of its minor status. In the list in the Eleusinian Endowment, however, he precedes the *Iakchagogos*, the *pyrphoros*, and the *παναγής*.

Although this priest is attested as far back as the end of the sixth century, he is not mentioned among the priests of the Kerykes in the decree of 20/19 in honor of the daduch Themistocles,⁴ and so we may be reasonably certain that this sacred official was drawn from the Eumolpidae.

Παναγής

In the law of ca. 460 B.C.⁵ it was ordained that the *ιερεὺς ὁ [παναγής]* would receive one obol from each of the initiates at the Mysteries; in this law he is listed after the daduch, altar-priest, and sacred herald, to mention only priests of the Kerykes.

1. *Θεόφιλος Μενεκράτους Χολλείδης*. Decree in honor of the daduch Themistocles, above, p. 51, line 13. In office in 20/19.

In the list of priests of the Kerykes who testified in favor of honoring the daduch Themistocles, Theophilus is called *ὁ παναγής κήρυξ*; he is preceded by the altar-priest, the *pyrphoros*, and the herald of the Two Goddesses (the sacred herald).

He is otherwise unknown, but may be related to *Θεόφιλος Ἐρμαίσκου Χολλείδης* (*I.G.*, II², 2461, line 126, a list of members of Leontis, middle of the first century B.C.).

AUGUSTAN PERIOD

A seat in the prohedria of the Theater of Dionysus is inscribed⁶: *κήρυκος π*

three boys who were ephebes in this period.⁷ Kapetanopoulos lists other members of this family who appear in lists of ephebes and *prytaneis*.⁸

Jason is called simply ὁ παναγής in *I.G.*, II², 3664, as well as the priest of several other deities: Ἑρμῆς Πυλῆτης καὶ Χαριδῶτης, Γῆ Ἥμερος, and Πόθος. Hermes Pyletes is probably the Hermes Propylaeus at the entrance of the Acropolis, mentioned by Pausanias (I, 22, 8).⁹ Interestingly, Pausanias also relates, depending on how you take his words, either that a representation of the Χάριτες stood next to Hermes Propylaeus or that both Hermes and the Graces were in one and the same representation. Such a connection with the Graces may have something to do with the epithet Χαριδῶτης, and so Ἑρμῆς Πυλῆτης καὶ Χαριδῶτης may be one and the same cult. Γῆ Ἥμερος is believed by Wilhelm to be identical with Γῆ Κουροτρόφος who was worshipped on the Acropolis.¹⁰ A cult of Πόθος is unattested for Athens but may be involved with the cult of Ἀφροδίτη Πάνδημος and Πειθῶ. In *I.G.*, II², 3664 Jason is honored apparently for his service as ζάκορος in the cult of Asclepius and Hygeia.

160-170

Of the priests of the Kerykes listed in the Eleusinian Endowment¹¹ the παναγής follows the daduch, sacred herald, altar-priest, and *pyrphoros*, that is, the same officials who preceded him in the decree of 20/19.¹²

3. Πόπλιος Ἑρέννιος Δέξιππος Πτολεμαίου Ἑρμείος. *I.G.*, II², 2931, 3198, 3667, 3669, 3670, 3671. *P.I.R.*², H 104. F. Millar, *J.R.S.* 59 (1969): pp. 19-29, with stemma. In office from ca. 250 to ca. 280.

He is called ἱερεὺς παναγής in all the epigraphical testimonia except *I.G.*, II², 2931 (which he dedicated as archon) and *I.G.*, II², 3667 (which he and his brothers dedicated to their father). He was panegyriarch, agonothete of the Panathenaea, basileus, and archon. His historical writings and his part in the Athenian defense against the Herulians are well described by Millar. His family belonged to the Kerykes; two members had already served as sacred heralds (nos. 7 and 9), his uncle and grandfather. The family was among the most distinguished in the intellectual and civic life of Athens in the second and third centuries.

We have no certain information about when he assumed this priesthood; approximately the middle of the third century would seem to be a reasonable

guess. Millar shows that it is unlikely that he died before the mid 270's.

4. Θεόδωρος. *Etymologicum Magnum*, p. 429, s.v. ἡμεροκαλλές. Uncertain date.

In the *Etymologicum Magnum* (*loc. cit.*) there is mentioned a description of the ἡμεροκαλλές by Θεόδωρος ὁ παναγής προσαγορευόμενος ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ περὶ Κηρύκων γένους.¹³

REMARKS

In the absence of any evidence it would be idle to speculate on the function of this priest.¹⁴ There is only a hint of a development in his title. Around 460 B.C. he was called ἱερεὺς ὁ [παναγής], in 20/19 κῆρυξ παναγής, in the late third century ἱερεὺς παναγής, and on the seat in the Theater of Dionysus καὶ ἱερέως appears to be a later addition to κῆρυκος παναγοῦς. This suggests that his name changed from ἱερεὺς παναγής to κῆρυξ παναγής and back again to ἱερεὺς. (In the early second century an inscription records just παναγής.) Perhaps the change in title, if it is a real one, corresponded to a change in function.

The available evidence indicates that he was drawn from the *genos* of the Kerykes.

Ἰακχαγωγός

He is mentioned in the list of officials appended to the Eleusinian Endowment¹⁵ of ca. 160-170 and he has a seat in the prohedria of the Theater of Dionysos.¹⁶ His function is clear from his title: he carried or accompanied the statue of Ἰακχος. Since this deity was a latecomer to the cult, probably as a personification of the mystic cry,¹⁷ so too of course was this priest. It would be interesting to know from which *genos* he came, but the evidence is only of a negative sort. He is not in the list of the priests of the Kerykes in the decree of 20/19 for the daduch Themistocles¹⁸; thus he was probably a Eumolpid.

The only known incumbent is: Διονύσιος Μαραθώνιος. *I.G.*, II², 3733, 3734, 4771, 4772. In office in 126/7.

He was cosmète in 126/7 (*I.G.*, II², 3733 and 3734). In *I.G.*, II², 3734 he is not named but called ἐσθλός

¹³ For the full quotation see above, p. 33, n. 149.

¹⁴ The παναγείς mentioned by Pollux, I, 35 (ed. Bethe) cannot be understood to mean that there was more than one παναγής; for all the officials in this sentence are named in the plural. Julian, *Oratio* V, 173c-d (ed. Hertlein) writes: ὥσπερ ἐνταῦθα (i.e., in the cult of the Mother) τὸ τῆς γενέσεως αἷτιον ἀποτέμνεται, οὕτω δὲ καὶ παρὰ Ἀθηναίους οἱ τῶν ἀρρήτων ἀπτόμενοι παναγείς εἰσι, καὶ ὁ τούτων ἐξάρχων ἱεροφάντης κτλ. I do not think that this refers to our priest, but that Julian is saying that all the priestly participants of the cult who had some "contact" with the *hiera* were παναγείς, pure in some ritual sense or perhaps practicing chastity during the festival.

¹⁵ See above, pp. 35-36. He also appears in the list of Eleusinian priests in Pollux, I, 35 (ed. Bethe).

¹⁶ *I.G.*, II², 5044 and append. III.

¹⁷ See Foucart, 1914: pp. 110-113.

¹⁸ See above, pp. 50-52.

⁷ Sometime between 112/3-125/6 (*I.G.*, II², 2029). The sons are: Στράτων, Ἀπολλώνιος, and Διόφαντος. This identification was made by E. Kapetanopoulos, *Arch. 'Eph.* 1968: pp. 191-192.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ Cf. Frazer, *Pausanias's Description of Greece* 2: pp. 268-273; W. Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*³ (Munich, 1931), p. 224.

¹⁰ Pausanias, I, 22, 3; Wilhelm, *Beiträge zur griechischen Inschriftenkunde* (Wien, 1909), p. 95.

¹¹ See above, pp. 35-36.

¹² See above, p. 51, line 13.

[Ἰάκχο]υ εἰροπόλος νυχίων μυστιπό[λος συνό]δων. He still has the title of Ἰακχαγωγός in two other dedications, *I.G.*, II², 4771 and 4772, which do not belong to the year in which he was cosmete; this led Foucart to conclude that the priesthood was held for life.¹⁹ These dedications seem to indicate that he was also a priest in the cult of Isis.

Hieronymy was not observed.

Ἰερεὺς θεοῦ καὶ θεᾶς

Nilsson argues persuasively that the θεός καὶ θεά are Pluton and Persephone.²⁰

1. Λακρτείδης Σωστράτου Ἰκαριεύς. *I.G.*, II², 1941, line 7; 2336, line 196; 2452, line 41; 4037; 4701; *Fouilles de Delphes*, III, 2, 2, line 12; 14, line 9; 25, line 9. In office around the end of the second century B.C.

On a great relief which he set up at Eleusis as a *χαριστήριον* to Demeter and Kore and θεός and θεά and Eubouleus he is called *ιερεὺς θεοῦ καὶ θεᾶς καὶ Εὐβουλέω[ς] ----*.²¹ The dedication was made on behalf of himself, his sons Sostratus and [Dionysiu]s and his [wife]²² Dionysia. He himself was a thesmothete in 98/7²³; his son Sostratus was a pythaist in 106/5²⁴; and his other son Dionysius was an ephebe in the Pythais in the same year.²⁵ Thus the birth date of Lacrateides would appear to be around 160–170.

Part of a damaged head in the relief is identified by a nearby inscription as that of Lacrateides. His hair is long and is bound by a *strophion*.

2. Εἰρηναῖος Εἰρηναίου Παιανιεύς. *I.G.*, II², 1772, line 8; 2047; 2048. In office in 140/1 A.D.

I.G., II², 2047 and 2048 show that he was cosmete in 140/1 and was also called *ιερεὺς θεοῦ καὶ θεᾶς*. His son Dionysius was ephebe in this year (*I.G.*, II², 2048) and *prytanis* in 162/3 (*I.G.*, II², 1772, line 8).

¹⁹ 1914: p. 208.

²⁰ *Geschichte* 1: pp. 470–471; *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 32 (1935): pp. 89–92 (= *Opuscula*, 2: pp. 555–558).

²¹ *I.G.*, II², 4701. It is possible that he was at this time a priest of other gods as well, for the inscription continues with Εὐβουλέω[ς] ---- καὶ τῶν [...]ων του[----]. Philios's restoration, καὶ τῶν [συμβώμ]ων τοῦ[----], is far from certain.

²² Daughter is also possible.

²³ *I.G.*, II², 2336, line 196 (= S. Dow, *H.S.C.P.* 51 [1940]: p. 121, line 202); *Fouilles de Delphes*, III, 2, 2, line 12.

²⁴ *I.G.*, II², 1941, line 7; *Fouilles de Delphes*, III, 2, 14, line 9. This is my interpretation; Kirchner believes (*ad. I.G.*, II², 1941) that the pythaist was a cousin of Lacrateides. However, since Sostratus probably was the oldest son, and his brother was ephebe in 106/5, it is quite possible that he was older than his brother by ten years or more, old enough in fact to be pythaist in this year. Kirchner believes that Sostratus the son of Lacrateides was a *ιππεύς* in the Pythais of 106/5 (*Fouilles de Delphes*, III, 2, 28, col. III, line 32), but the *ιππεύς* in question is a Sostratus of the tribe Attalis with no patronymic or demotic given, and so he cannot be identified with probability as the son of Lacrateides.

²⁵ *Fouilles de Delphes*, III, 2, 25, line 9.

160–170 A.D.

ιερεὺς θεο[ῦ καὶ θεᾶς] ---- appears next to last in the second column of the Eleusinian Endowment of ca. 160–170.²⁶

REMARKS

Apparently Eubouleus was not always served by the priest of the God and the Goddess as the case of no. 2 seems to show.

This priest was not among those of the Kerykes in the decree of 20/19 in honor of Themistocles the daduch, and so the priesthood was probably a Eumolpid one. Although this priest served hieronymous deities, he himself seems not to have been hieronymous, at least not before 140/1, which is in keeping with his minor position in the cult.

Ἰερεὺς Τριπτολέμου

The only known incumbent is [Ἀφρ]οδείσιος Στεφάνου [Μαραθ]ώνιος of the mid third century A.D. (*I.G.*, II², 3705), who is otherwise unknown. The priesthood appears at the bottom of the list in the Eleusinian Endowment²⁷; in fact, it appears from the writing that it was added as an afterthought. The priest of Triptolemus does not appear among the priests of the Kerykes who testified on behalf of the daduch Themistocles in 20/19. This was probably therefore a Eumolpid priesthood.

Ἰέρεια Πλούτωνος

She is attested only once, in a "sacred calendar" of ca. 330—ca. 270, where she apparently has a function relating to a celebration of Thesmophoria but not the Mysteries.²⁸ Nevertheless, Dow and Healey are probably right in maintaining that she functioned also in the Mysteries, in which Pluto was a prominent deity.²⁹

Ἱμναγωγοί

Three of them are listed among the priests of the Kerykes in the decree of 20/19 for the daduch Themistocles.³⁰ The only other mention of them is in the list of priests in Pollux, I, 35 (ed. Bethe) where they are called: ὑμνωδοί, ὑμνήτριαι. In view of this and the obvious part that they would have in the procession of the Mysteries it seems reasonable to suppose that they belonged to this cult.

Of the three ὑμναγωγοί in the decree for Themistocles, the first, Ἀριστόδημος Ἀργείου Τρικορύσιος, was the son

²⁶ *Hesperia* 21 (1952): p. 381, line 55 (= *I.G.*, II², 1092); see above, pp. 35–36. He was actually last in the first engraving of this document; the priest of Triptolemus was added later (see below).

²⁷ *Ibid.*, line 56.

²⁸ Dow and Healey, 1965: line 24.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 35–36. Foucart assumed this also (1914: p. 220).

³⁰ See the text above, p. 51, lines 18–20.

of the archon of 98/7³¹; the second, Μεννέας Μεννέου Ἀζηγιεύς, is probably to be identified with a *prytanis* of 50–40,³² and is perhaps related to the archon Menneas son of Zopyrus³³; and the third, Φιλήμωνος Μελιτεύς, was the son of a *ἱππεύς* in the Pythais of 106/5.³⁴

Ἱερεὺς Λιθοφόρος

1. Δωσίθεος Κλεομένους Μαραθώνιος. Decree for Themistocles the daduch, lines 15–18 (see text above, p. 51). In office in 20/19.

He is called ὁ λιθοφόρος τοῦ ἱεροῦ λίθου and was simultaneously ἱερεὺς Διὸς Ὀρίου καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς Ὀρίας καὶ Ποσειδῶνος Προσ(β)α[σ]τηρίου καὶ Ποσειδῶνος Θεμελιούχου.

Kapetanopoulos³⁵ points out that line 4 of *I.G.*, II², 1727 (= *Hesperia* 3 [1934]: p. 147 and fig. 2) should read Δωσίθεος Κλεομένους Μ[αραθώνιος] rather than Ξωσίθεος; in which case our man was basileus "*paullò ante* 63/2(?)". For a stemma of the family see *I.G.*, II², 3488.

SECOND CENTURY A.D.

There is a seat in the *prohedria* of the Theater of Dionysus designated as the seat of the *ἱερέως λιθοφόρου* (*I.G.*, II², 5077); *ἱερέως* is carved by a separate hand.

2. Μ Αὐρήλιος Λιθοφόρος Πρόσδεκτος Πιστοκράτους Κεφαλῆθεν. *I.G.*, II², 3658 (= Oliver, 1941: no. 27). In office around 200 A.D.

According to the dedication in his honor, he was an ambassador, archon of the Kerykes, and archon of the Sacred Grouasia, and he was awarded Roman citizenship by Commodus. It is interesting how *λιθοφόρος* is incorporated into his name; it seems to imitate names with *hieronymy*.

The function of the *λιθοφόρος* is unknown, mainly because we do not know the nature of the *ἱερός λίθος* which he evidently carried.³⁶ It is clear that the priesthood belonged to the Kerykes, but the evidence is tenuous at best for linking it to the cult of the Mysteries. It does not appear in the Eleusinian Endowment, though it is possible that it was squeezed in between the second column of the list of priests and the margin.

³¹ For the archon, Ἀργεῖος Ἀργείου Τρικυρῆσιος, see *P.A.*, 1586 and Meritt, *The Athenian Year*, p. 238 (with bibliography). The father of the archon I think is probably to be restored in *I.G.*, II², 2445, a list set up around 140, so that line 11 should read: [Ἀργεῖος Ἀρ]ιστοδόμου Τρικυρῆσιος.

³² *Hesperia* 36: (1967): p. 237, no. 47, line 4.

³³ *I.G.*, II², 1718, line 2 (36/5–18/7 B.C.).

³⁴ *Fouilles de Delphes*, III, 2, 28, col. II, line 29; see Sundwall, *N.P.A.*, p. 163, with stemma.

³⁵ *Εφ. Ἀρχ.*, 1968: p. 177.

³⁶ For the best discussion of the nature of this priest see P. Roussel, 1934: pp. 824–827.

OTHERS

An alleged special group of priestesses called the *ἱέρειαι παναγείς* owes its existence partly to a missing comma. Bethe in his edition of Pollux, I, 35, has the correct punctuation: *ἱέρειαι, παναγείς*. The latter refers in the plural to the *παναγής* (see above, pp. 95–96), just as all the other names of priests in this part of the list are in the plural. None of the other evidence alleged for them relates convincingly to the Mysteries at Eleusis.³⁷

It is unclear whether the gloss in Hesychius about the *ὑδρανός*—ὁ ἀγνιστῆς τῶν Ἐλευσινίων refers to a priest at the Mysteries.

The *νεωκόρος* might have a better claim to priestly status, but he is attested in only one inscription, the account of the *epistatai* of 329/8, where there is no sign that he had duties any more important than those of a sacristan: the *νεωκόρος Πέρσης*, who Kirchner did not think was an Athenian, is mentioned as having something to do with intestines, perhaps getting rid of them or purchasing them³⁸; repairs of a *νεωκόριον* are mentioned several times.³⁹

Δαιερίτης

In Pollux, I, 35 (ed. Bethe) we find appended to a list of Eleusinian priests and priestesses: Ἰακχαγωγὸς γὰρ καὶ κουροτρόφος καὶ δαιερίτης, καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα, ἴδια τῶν Ἀττικῶν. The first of these certainly was a sacred official at Eleusis; the second certainly was not, which puts in doubt the ascription of the third to the Mysteries at Eleusis. A *δαιερίτης* is not attested elsewhere. If such a priesthood existed in connection with the Mysteries at Eleusis, it must have been a rather minor one. Nilsson believes the goddess Daeira to be Pluto's sister, who guarded Kore in the underworld.⁴⁰

X. HEARTH-INITIATES (Παῖδες ἀφ' ἐστίας)

INTRODUCTION

The *παῖς ἀφ' ἐστίας* (*μνηθεῖς* or *μνηθεῖσα*) appears in the list of recipients in the Eleusinian Endowment of

³⁷ For a full discussion see Foucart (1914: pp. 214–215) who is of the opposite opinion. It seems to me that the regular priestesses of the sanctuary could sometimes be called *παναγείς* but only in reference to the practice of chastity during the festival.

³⁸ *I.G.*, II², 1672, line 123. On the *νεωκόρος* in general cf. P. Stengel, *Kultusaltertümer*³, pp. 51–52; H. Krister, *R.E.* 16 (1935): coll. 2422–2424. A Perses appears on a fourth century grave inscription at Eleusis (*B.C.H.* 94 [1970]: p. 912).

³⁹ Lines 164, 181, 201, 208.

⁴⁰ See his full treatment of this problematical goddess in *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 32 (1935): pp. 82–83 (= *Opuscula Selecta*, 2: pp. 545–547). It is not clear to me whether the "priestess of Demeter" who according to one source must absent herself when sacrifice is made to Daeira is the priestess of Demeter at Eleusis. Another full discussion of ancient and modern interpretations is given by P. Moraux, *Une imprécation funéraire à Néocésarée* (Paris, 1958), pp. 30–38.

160–170 A.D.,¹ which consists almost entirely of priests (the only certain non-priest being the archon of the Eumolpidae). Porphyry includes the *παῖδες* in a discussion of priests, and even attributes to them sacerdotal functions. His description of them reads²: ὅπερ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς μυστηρίοις ὁ ἀφ' ἐστίας λεγόμενος παῖς ἀντὶ πάντων τῶν μινουμένων ἀπομειλίσσεται τὸ θεῖον, ἀκριβῶς δρῶν τὰ προστεταγμένα, τοῦτο κατὰ τὰ ἔθνη καὶ πόλεις οἱ ἱερεῖς δύνανται ἀντὶ πάντων θύοντες καὶ τὸ θεῖον προσαγόμενοι διὰ τῆς εὐσεβείας εἰς τὴν σφῶν κηδεμονίαν. Nevertheless, we cannot conclude that the *παῖς ἀφ' ἐστίας* was regarded as a *ἱερεὺς*, but simply that he (or she) offered prayers or sacrifices on behalf of all the initiates and perhaps also on behalf of the city, and in so doing assumed on this occasion quasi-sacerdotal functions. The high respect accorded them stands out clearly in the great number of dedications of the Hellenistic and Roman period erected in their honor, including many by the Areopagus, Boule, and Demos.

The principal clue concerning their function ought to lie in the phrase *ἀφ' ἐστίας*, and several scholars have accordingly tried to determine what the phrase means. To date the most accepted interpretations are those of Foucart,³ who identifies *ἐστία* with the public hearth in the Prytaneum and so views the *παῖς* as "le représentant de la cité qui est symbolisée par le foyer public," and of G. Méautis,⁴ who associates *ἀφ' ἐστίας* with the proverb *ἀφ' ἐστίας ἀρχεσθαι* (i.e., "beginning with what is essential, beginning from the beginning") and then interprets *μυθεῖς ἀφ' ἐστίας* in the following sense: "cet enfant est le premier initié, l'initié type, l'initié primordial." According to his interpretation, *ἀφ' ἐστίας* is equivalent to *ἀπ' ἀρχῆς*; *ἐστία* means essentially *ἀρχή*, the primordial; and the proverb *ἀφ' ἐστίας ἀρχεσθαι* developed with this primordial aspect of *ἐστία* in mind. He gives scant attention, however, to the metaphorical origin of the proverb. When sacrificing to a series of gods, one customarily sacrificed to Hestia first⁵; so "starting with Hestia" came to mean the same as "starting from the beginning." Consequently it does not seem permissible to ascribe to *ἐστία* any inherent meaning of "beginning." This meaning evolved out of a sacrificial custom, and apparently did not exist independently of *ἀφ' ἐστίας ἀρχεσθαι*.⁶ Thus, if *ἀφ' ἐστίας* means "original" or

"primordial" in the phrase *παῖς ἀφ' ἐστίας*, more conclusive evidence is needed to prove this than the fact that it meant "from the beginning" in the proverb.

Foucart's theory that the boy represents the city, that the hearth is accordingly the hearth of the Prytaneum, has a bit of support in the notice in Bekker, *Anecdota Graeca* (p. 204): Ἀφ' ἐστίας μυθηῖται ὁ ἐκ τῶν προκρίτων Ἀθηναίων κλήρω λαχὼν παῖς δημοσίᾳ μυθεῖς. For the fact that the child was initiated at public expense tends to indicate that he was in some way considered a representative of the city, in which case the "hearth" could well have been the main hearth of the city, the one located in the Prytaneum. At any rate, the "hearth," whether it is the one in the Prytaneum or some other hearth, was probably a real, specific hearth, and the initiation of the child probably had some direct physical relation to it,⁷ perhaps as the starting-point of the *μύσις*⁸ or perhaps as the locale of some ceremony which took place even before the *μύσις*.

The custom of the *παῖς ἀφ' ἐστίας* was very old. It is attested as early as around 460 B.C., in an inscription which is unfortunately mutilated and uncertainly restored in the section where the *παῖς* is mentioned.⁹ *Myesis* in this inscription, and apparently throughout the fifth century, still had its original meaning of "pre-initiation," that is, an introductory ceremony that took place before the candidate became a *mystes*, before the *telete*.¹⁰

An unpublished inscription discovered near the Eleusinion in the Athenian Agora,¹¹ which dates apparently to the second quarter of the fourth century or perhaps slightly later, sheds new light on the way

here, signifying "central starting-point" or "center as starting-point." Both *ἐστία* and *ἀρχή* with their separate meanings are essential to the sense of the passage; if *ἐστία* meant by itself "central starting-point," there would have been no need for *ἀρχή*, and if *ἐστία* meant *ἀρχή*, the passage would make no sense.

⁷ A. Mommsen, *Heortologie* (Leipzig, 1864), pp. 239–240, suggested that the hearth was in the sanctuary at Eleusis: "ein heiliger Heerd der Demeter, in dessen Nähe der Erwählte die Weihe für alle nahm. Die Aeltern hofften ihrem Kinde durch die Weihen vom Heerd reichen Segen zu gewinnen." In a footnote to p. 239 he says: "Vielleicht kann man auch die Stelle des Hymnus 236–240 heranziehen, wo Demeter an ihrem Pflegling eine Unsterblichkeitsweihe (v. 242) vollzieht. Sie bedient sich dabei des Herdfeuers. . . ." Considering the many aetiological elements in the hymn the suggestion is a very attractive one.

⁸ On the *μύσις* see above, p. 13. For the hearth of the Prytaneum as a starting point for a procession cf. the regulation concerning the *orgeones* of Bendis, Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées*, 46, lines 6–7 (= *I.G.*, II², 1283): τὴν πονπὴν πένπειν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐστίας τῆς ἐκ τοῦ πρυτανείου. Cf. also the *εἰσαγωγή ἀπὸ τῆς ἐσχάρας*, though not related to the Prytaneum, Pickard-Cambridge, *The Dramatic Festivals of Athens*, rev. J. Gould and D. M. Lewis (Oxford, 1968), pp. 59–61. It should be noted that the Croconidae, who were associated with the Eleusinian cult, apparently administered a sanctuary of Hestia (*I.G.*, II², 1229, line 6).

⁹ *I.G.*, I², 6; for the text see above, pp. 10–11; the lines in question are 24–26.

¹⁰ See above, p. 13.

¹¹ C. Edmonson, who will soon publish this inscription, has kindly allowed me to cite this passage.

¹ *I.G.*, II², 1092 (= *Hesperia* 21 [1952]: pp. 381–382): see above, pp. 35–36 and below, pp. 110, 111.

² *De Abstinencia*, IV, 5.

³ Foucart, 1914: pp. 277–281, followed by O. Kern, 1935: col. 1236, and by Deubner, 1932: p. 74.

⁴ *R.E.A.* 39 (1937): pp. 105–107. Nilsson, *Geschichte*, 2: p. 92, n. 4, suggests the possibility that *ἐστία* meant "family," i.e., the Eumolpidae and Kerykes (which probably was not true, as will be shown below), but takes no firm position.

⁵ See A. Preuner, *Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*, ed. Roscher, s.v. Hestia, coll. 2614–2620.

⁶ In the phrase *ἀπ' ἄλλης ἐστίας καὶ ἀρχῆς τὰς πράξεις προχειριζομένων* (Strabo, I, 1, 16) *ἐστία* has the metaphorical meaning of "center," "places which are to a country as a hearth is to a house" (*L.S.J.*, s.v. *ἐστία* I, 5). *ἐστίας καὶ ἀρχῆς* is a hendiadys

the παῖδες ἀφ' ἐστίας were selected. Lines 41–2 read: *περὶ τῷ ἀφ' [ἐστίας χρητὸν βασι]λέα προαγορεύειν γράφεσθαι τὸν β[ολ]όμενον Ἀθην[αίων]³¹ ἡμέραις [. . .⁷ . . . ἐκ δὲ τῶν γρα]ψαμένων κληροῦτω ὁ βασιλεὺς τῇ[ι] νομηνίαι τὸν ἀφ' ἐστίας ----].* Thus any Athenian who wished to have his child become an ἀφ' ἐστίας merely had to register the child's name, and on the first day (presumably of Boedromion) the basileus selected the *país* by lot from those registered. The fact that the basileus was involved tends to signify great antiquity for the institution. The manner of selection is in complete accord with the approximately contemporary statement made by Isaeus in a lost speech¹²: 'Ὁ ἀφ' ἐστίας μνούμενος Ἀθηναῖος ἦν πάντως. κλήρω δὲ λαχὼν ἐμνείτο. The statement in *Anecdota Graeca* (see above) adds that the cost of *myesis* of this child was paid at public expense (*δημοσίᾳ*), and that the child was ὁ ἐκ τῶν προκρίτων Ἀθηναίων. Foucart's suggestion that ἐκ τῶν προκρίτων signifies a list of pre-selected candidates, such as Aristotle mentions in connection with selection for political office,¹³ is ruled out by the Agora inscription unless this represents a change from an earlier law that required such a list. The phrase, I suspect, should rather be derived from the fact that in the Hellenistic and Roman period numerous monuments were dedicated at Eleusis to παῖδες ἀφ' ἐστίας of distinguished families, i.e., πρόκριτοι.¹⁴

THE INDIVIDUALS

The dates indicated for the following hearth-initiates are those of the individual's year of initiation. The dedicatory monument listed in each case is assumed to have been erected not long after that time unless it is otherwise clear that it was not.

1. Λυσίας Ἀρτέμωνα Παϊανιεύς. *I.G.*, II², 3478. Around 115 B.C.

Kirchner identified this boy with the Lysias son of Artemon of Paiania who was priest of Apollo around the end of the second century (*I.G.*, II², 2452, line 21) and whose grandson was ephebe in 107/6 (*I.G.*, II², 1011, line 106). It is clear from Kirchner's stemma of the family of the dedicators¹⁵ of the statue base of the hearth-initiate (*I.G.*, II², 3478) that they probably dedicated it in the last quarter of the century, since the *akme* of the two known dedicators is assigned to "around 120." If we identify the hearth-initiate with the priest of the end of the century, we have to assume that they made the dedication when they were very young. It therefore seems more likely that it was made to the Lysias son of Artemon of Paiania

who was ephebe in 107/6 and grandson of the priest of Apollo.

2. A girl. *I.G.*, II², 3477. Second half of second century.

She is honored by the Boule and the Demos as hearth-initiate, *kanephoros* at the Panathenaea, and *kanephoros* in the Pythais. The date is derived from the priestess of Athena, Habryllis, daughter of Micion of Kephisia.¹⁶

3. The dedication to a girl hearth-initiate in *Hesperia* 37 (1968): p. 289, no. 29, dated there by its lettering to around 200 B.C., could perhaps belong to any time in the second century.

4. Φιλίστιον Διονυσίου Ἀλαιοῦ θυγάτηρ. Below, append. VI. End of second century.

Her base was set up by her father around the end of the second century, while Glauce daughter of Menedemus of Kudathenaion was priestess of Demeter and Kore (no. 5).

5. Ἐπιφάνεια Ἀθηναγόρου Μελιτέως θυγάτηρ. *I.G.*, II², 3480. In the last quarter of the second century.

Her father and her maternal grandfather were priests of Sarapis on Delos in 126/5 and 116/5 respectively.¹⁷ The base (*I.G.*, II², 3480) was set up by her maternal grandparents.

6. Τιμοθέα Μηδείου τοῦ Μηδείου Πειραιέως θυγάτηρ. *I.G.*, II², 3491. Around the middle of the first century B.C.

She belonged to the family of the Medeii of Peiraeus, which was very prominent in the civic life of Athens of the second and first centuries before Christ¹⁸; her father was an exegete of the Eumolpidae and archon around 65.¹⁹ Her mother Diphila was a first cousin of her father. Her mother's niece, Nicostrate, married the daduch Themistocles (no. 16) who was honored by his *genos* in 20/19.

Her father was a Eumolpid.

7. Daughter of a man of the deme Azenia. *I.G.*, II², 3492. Second half of the first century B.C.

Inspection of this dedication shows that the following text is necessary:

[----- Ἀξ]ηνιέως θυγ[α]
[τέρα, Λέοντος τοῦ Πυθ]ώρακτος Ἀξην[ι]
[έως καὶ Διοτίμου τοῦ] Διοδώρου Ἀλαι[έ]
4[ως νιδὴν ἀφ' ἐστίας μ.]υθηεῖσαν Δήμ[η]
[vacat] τρι καὶ Κόρη ἀνέθη]καν.

¹² Harpocration, s.v. ἀφ' ἐστίας μνηθῆναι.

¹³ Foucart, 1914: p. 278. Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.*, 8.

¹⁴ In Dio Cassius πρόκριτος is used to translate *princeps*; cf. *L.S.J.*, s.v.

¹⁵ *Ad I.G.*, II², 3488.

¹⁶ Cf. stemma *ad P.A.* 5966.

¹⁷ *Inscriptions de Délos*, 2610.

¹⁸ See stemma, *P.A.*, II, p. 82.

¹⁹ Oliver, *Expounders*, I 19, pp. 146–147.

The disposition of the text is slightly altered, but Kirchner's restorations are retained with the addition of definite articles (so J. H. Oliver) in lines 2 and 3.

Diotimus son of Diodorus of Halai was the member of the Kerykes who proposed the decree honoring the daduch Themistocles (no. 16), and was one of the distinguished Athenians who participated with the hierophant in the lectisternium of Pluto.²⁰ He was also an exegete elected by the Demos.²¹

8. [Διοτ]ίμα, daughter of [...]cleides and Phaenarete. *I.G.*, II², 3499. Dated by lettering to first century before Christ.

None of these persons is otherwise known.

9. An unknown girl who was also *kanephoros* for Sarapis. *I.G.*, II², 3498, erected while Charion was priestess of Demeter and Kore (no. 7). In the first or second century B.C.

10. A boy. *I.G.*, II², 3517. Perhaps first century B.C.

The top of the stone is preserved, showing that there is space for one more line above Skias's text. The left side is original and shows that only three letters come before the nu in the first preserved line; therefore Skias's restoration of the name is highly unlikely. Only about one and one-half letters should be restored at the beginning of line 2.

11. [Ο]κνία (?) Πολυχάρμου Ἀσηνιέως θυγάτηρ. *I.G.*, II², 3518. Beginning of first century A.D. Erected by the Boule.

Her father was archon, her grandfather pythochrestus exegete, and her great-grandfather hoplite general, archon, and epimelete of Delos.²²

12. Λαμίδιον Ἀπολήξιδος ἐξ Οἴου θυγάτηρ. Ἀρχ. Ἐφ. 1971: pp. 114–115, no. 7 (= *I.G.*, II², 3519 plus new fragment). For the stemma see O. Reinmuth, *B.C.H.* 90 (1966): pp. 98–99, and Ἀρχ. Ἐφ. *loc. cit.* Augustan.

She comes from an illustrious family (see Reinmuth's stemma); her maternal grandfather was probably the archon of 52/1, her paternal grandfather appears to have been the archon of 46/5, and her father the archon of 20/19 (for the date see above, p. 50, note 30).

13. Φιλητῶ Κλεομένους Μαραθωνίου θυγάτηρ. *I.G.*, II², 3529. Stemma: *ad I.G.*, II², 3488. Around the beginning of first century A.D.

Her father was thesmothete in the beginning of the first century A.D. (*I.G.*, II², 1730, line 13).

REPRESENTATIONS IN ART²³

For reasons that will become clear below, the study of the individuals will be briefly interrupted at this point in order to discuss the several sculptures which have been interpreted as representations of the hearth-initiate. A brief description of the features relevant to the identification of each sculpture follows.

1. Figures 5–7. A statue of a boy now in the Palazzo dei Conservatori in Rome.²⁴ The boy is leaning against a tree stump. Attached to the stump are a stafflike object, a wreath, and a ribbon looped around the wreath and hanging from it. He is wearing a short chiton and holding an object in front of him which is not preserved but is most likely a piglet. His hair is bound with a thin band.

The wreath and the leaves on the stafflike object have been thought to be myrtle, and this led scholars to look to Eleusis for the person represented, where a boy and a piglet would naturally suggest the hearth-initiate.

The statue was made in the Julio-Claudian (or possibly Hadrianic) period. L. Spaulding suggested, not very cogently in my opinion, that its original was a creation of a classicizing school of the first century B.C., perhaps the Pasitelean school.²⁵ Most other opinions are that its original was a fifth-century creation,²⁶ and we will return to this question below.

2. Figures 8–9. An Antonine copy of the same original, now in the Palazzo dei Conservatori.²⁷ It differs from the preceding in a few details. Nothing is attached to the tree stump; the fillet in the boy's hair is here a *strophion*; he is wearing a sandal on the right foot but his left foot is bare (but no sandal is represented on the right foot of no. 1, whose left foot is missing).

3. Figure 10. An Antonine copy of the same original, now in the Palazzo dei Conservatori.²⁸ Only the head is ancient. He is wearing a *strophion*.

²³ I have profited much in discussing the material of this section with my wife, Jacquelyn Collins Clinton.

²⁴ K. Esdaile, *J.H.S.* 29 (1909): pp. 1–5, pl. Ia; Helbig, *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*⁴ (1966), no. 1503, with bibliography.

²⁵ The "Camillus" Type in Sculpture (Diss. Columbia, 1911), p. 56.

²⁶ Cf. Helbig⁴, *loc. cit.*; G. Lippold, *Die griechische Plastik (Handbuch der Archäologie* 6, 3, 1, 1950), p. 130; B.S. Ridgeway, *The Severe Style in Greek Sculpture* (Princeton, 1970), p. 68, who groups nos. 1–3 near the Sosandra, i.e., ca. 460; Poulsen, *Der strenge Stil* (Copenhagen, 1937), pp. 79–80, argues for a Boeotian original of ca. 450.

²⁷ K. Esdaile, *op. cit.*, pl. Ib (the forearms and pig are restored); Helbig⁴, *loc. cit.*

²⁸ Amelung, *Dissertationes di Pontificia Accademia*, 2. Seria 9 (1907): pp. 115–35, tav. VI; Helbig⁴, *loc. cit.*

²⁰ *I.G.*, II², 2464, line 3. See above, p. 29.

²¹ Oliver, *Expounders*, p. 149.

²² For the prosopography of this family see *ibid.*, p. 148.



FIG. 5. Conservatori boy (1). Courtesy of German Archaeological Institute at Rome.

4. An Antonine copy of the head of the same original, now in the Terme Museum in Rome.²⁹ The fillet in the hair is identical to that of no. 1.

Similar heads are located:

²⁹ E. Paribeni, *Museo Nazionale Romano (delle Terme), Sculture Greche del V. Secolo* (Rome 1953), no. 39. It is from a herm.



FIG. 6. Conservatori boy (1), side view. Courtesy of German Archaeological Institute at Rome.

5. In the Louvre.³⁰

6. At Ince Blundell Hall.³¹

7. In the Wandel collection in Copenhagen.³²

8. At Sicyon, discovered in the course of excavating a Roman house.³³

All of these boys (1–8) have a peculiar tuft of hair rising directly above the middle of the forehead.

³⁰ Reinach, *Recueil de Têtes Antiques* (Paris, 1903), fig. 29.

³¹ B. Ashmole, *A Catalog of the Ancient Marbles at Ince Blundell Hall* (Oxford, 1929), no. 162, pl. 4.

³² Poulsen, *Der strenge Stil*, p. 79.

³³ Πρακτικά 1935: p. 80, fig. 12.



FIG. 7. Conservatori boy (1). Courtesy of German Archaeological Institute at Rome.

Similar in some respects to nos. 1–2 is a statue of a boy in the Leconfield collection.³⁴ He is holding a piglet and is leaning against a stump on which is carved a knife in its sheath. On his head he has a laurel wreath. His short chiton is similar to the one in nos. 1–2. But although this statue is a similar type, it certainly is not a copy of the original of nos. 1–8; and it does not have the same tuft of hair rising above the middle of the forehead. In fact, the laurel wreath and the knife show that the artist had a Roman context in mind, and so an identification with the hearth-initiate seems to be highly unlikely.

In regard to nos. 1–8 the identification has been based essentially on the myrtle wreath and the stafflike object attached to the tree stump of no. 1. However, the “myrtle” wreath does not look like a real myrtle wreath (a good example of which is a silver myrtle wreath now in the British Museum).³⁵ Thus it is either artificial, that is, the leaves were plucked from their branch and artificially arranged, or else it is highly stylized, so that in either case one could also regard the leaves as olive. And the same inter-



FIG. 8. Conservatori boy (2). Courtesy of German Archaeological Institute at Rome.

pretation is possible for the leaves protruding from the joints of the stafflike object. However, even though the wreath does not provide a clear indication of the original context, the stafflike object does point with considerable certainty to Eleusis. It has an exact parallel on the Eleusinian Niinnion tablet and on other Eleusinian monuments.³⁶ It is certainly not a torch but rather a bundle of myrtle branches bound at intervals, with myrtle leaves protruding at the points of binding. The staffs have been given the name *βάκχοι* by modern scholars, perhaps incorrectly,³⁷

³⁴ M. Wyndham, *Catalogue of the Collection of Greek and Roman Antiquities in the Possession of Lord Leconfield* (London, 1915), pp. 84–85, pl. 53.

³⁵ Illustrated in *Garden Lore of Ancient Athens* (Excavations of the Athenian Agora, Picture Book No. 8, 1963), fig. 48.

³⁶ Several examples are collected by Pringsheim, 1905: pp. 16–19. For a photograph of the Niinnion tablet see Mylonas, *Eleusis*, pl. 88.

³⁷ On the basis of a scholion to Aristophanes, *Knights*, line 408: *Βάκχον δὲ οὐ τὸν Διόνυσον ἐκάλουν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντας τοὺς τελούντας τὰ ὄργια βάκχους ἐκάλουν, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς κλάδους οὓς οἱ μύσται*



FIG. 9. Conservatori boy (2). Courtesy of German Archaeological Institute at Rome.



FIG. 10. Conservatori boy (3). Courtesy of German Archaeological Institute at Rome.

but whatever their name, they are usually depicted as being carried by *mystai*.

The connection of these statues with Eleusis can fortunately be further tested against a class of statues of boys found both at Eleusis and near the Eleusinion in the Athenian Agora. Those from Eleusis, published by Kourouniotes,³⁸ are as follows:

A. Figures 11–12. A portrait head of a boy wearing a crown (the body is not preserved).³⁹ The crown is handwoven; it is not a natural twig; the leaves look somewhat like myrtle but could be olive. The boy's hair is very short except for a long tuft growing from a point above the right ear and falling down behind it. Kourouniotes dates the statue to the first century after Christ. It is more probably a third century work, such as Harrison, 1953: nos. 41 and 46, although the pupils of the eyes are not drilled.

B. Figures 13–14. A portrait head of a boy wearing a crown (the body is not preserved).⁴⁰ The crown

φέρειναι. But Pringsheim, 1905: p. 16 (cf. Nilsson, *Geschichte* 1: p. 126), pointed out that this statement seems to refer only to Dionysiac Mysteries and so does not reveal the name of the Eleusinian object.

³⁸ *Δελτιον* 8 (1923): pp. 155–170.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, figs. 1a and 1b.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, figs. 3 and 4.

is handwoven and the leaves are highly stylized. His hair is short, and a lock of hair just above his forehead over the right eye is represented as having been cut off. The caplike appearance of the hair is more simply rendered yet similar to that of Harrison, 1953: no. 51, which she dates to the second half of the third century.

It would be natural to assume that the unusual locks in both portraits had a religious significance; the custom is mentioned by Pollux⁴¹: ἔτρεζον δὲ τινες ἐκ πλαγίου κόμην ἢ κατόπιν ἢ ὑπὲρ τὸ μέτωπον ποταμοῖς ἢ θεοῖς, καὶ ὠνομάζετο πλοχμός ἢ σκόλλυς ἢ σειρὰ τριχῶν. Portrait A is therefore a representation of a boy before the cutting of this lock for dedication, and portrait B just afterwards.

Since the only known boys (and girls) connected religiously with the Eleusinian sanctuary are the hearth-initiates, Kourouniotes' identification is undoubtedly correct.

C. A marble statuette of a boy carrying a myrtle-staff in his left hand, and in his right, originally, a piglet, traces of which are still visible.⁴² His garment

⁴¹ B, 30, vol. I, p. 90 (ed. Bethe). For a full discussion of *Scheitelschmuck* see V. von Gonzenbach, *B.C.H.* 93 (1969): pp. 885–945.

⁴² Kourouniotes, *op. cit.*, fig. 8; better photograph in Mylonas, *Eleusis*, fig. 80.



FIG. 11. Eleusis boy (A).



FIG. 12. Eleusis boy (A), side view.

reaches to below the knees and leaves his right shoulder bare. His hair is long, and a tuft (not mentioned by Kourouniotes) rises at the part just above the forehead. He is not wearing a crown. Kourouniotes dates the statuette to the fourth century B.C.; Furtwängler⁴³ to the fourth or third century B.C.

Another statuette, also found at Eleusis, *may* represent a hearth-initiate:

D. A marble statuette, perhaps of a boy, with the head missing, depicting a person carrying a staff (damaged now but probably originally a myrtle-staff).⁴⁴ He originally carried a piglet in his right hand by its hind legs; its head and forelegs are still preserved on the base. His garment does not cover his right shoulder and reaches to just above the knees. The date of the statue according to Kourouniotes falls within the Roman period.

The following portrait heads, published by E. B. Harrison, were found in the Athenian Agora⁴⁵:

⁴³ *Ath. Mitt.* 20 (1895): p. 357.

⁴⁴ Kourouniotes, *op. cit.*, figs. 9 and 10.

⁴⁵ *The Athenian Agora, I, Portrait Sculpture* (1953).

E. Harrison, 1953: no. 41, pl. 28. "This life-sized portrait shows a little boy wearing on his head a wreath of small, formal leaves stiffly arranged in pairs. His hair is cut short all over except for a single wavy lock about 11 cm. long which falls from the crown down the back of his head." It is dated to the second quarter of the third century A.D. The long lock is similar to those on A and B.

F. Harrison, 1953: no. 42, pl. 27. Second quarter of the third century A.D. "This is the portrait of an even younger child than the one represented in no. 41 above. He wears a wreath of small leaves ranged in parallel sets of three, and he has a long scalp-lock on the back of his head. The hair is short. . . ."

G. Harrison, 1953: no. 46, pl. 29. Third quarter of the third century A.D. "This is a life-sized portrait of a young boy wearing on his head a wreath of tiny, close-packed leaves. His hair is cut quite short on all the preserved parts of the head, but since a piece of the back of the head is missing, it is not impossible that he wore a longer scalp-lock in back similar to that worn by no. 41 above." The leaves of the



FIG. 13. Eleusis boy (B).

wreath, though arranged differently, are very similar to those in the wreath of the Conservatori boy, no. 1.

These statues of hearth-initiates in the Agora are to be connected with the Eleusinion, near which a statue base of a hearth-initiate has been found.⁴⁶ Apparently a donor sometimes had the option of setting up a statue of someone in connection with the Eleusinian Mysteries either at Eleusis or in the Eleusinion in the Agora (though the vast majority of such dedications was set up at Eleusis).

An identification as hearth-initiate can be made with the most certainty for A, B, C, E, F, G. Distinct characteristics these have in common are: (1) a specially woven wreath, undoubtedly of myrtle in view of the Eleusinian connection, the leaves of which are represented in a formalized manner; (2) a single long lock of hair obviously grown for a religious purpose. Among the previous group of statues, found

⁴⁶ *Hesperia* 37 (1968): p. 289, no. 29. Found "in the wall of a modern house over the area of the southwestern part of the Eleusinion."



FIG. 14. Eleusis boy (B), side view.

outside of Attica, these characteristics also occur in no. 1, which is the earliest in the nos. 1-8 group, and thus link nos. 1-8 with the Agora and Eleusis statues and assure the identification. The scalp-lock is of course rendered differently in nos. 1-8, since they are in the idealizing Early Classical style and not in the portrait style of the Eleusis and Agora group (A, B, E, F, G).⁴⁷ No. 1 is further linked to Eleusis by the myrtle-staff attached to the tree stump. The only remaining element of no. 1 which requires explanation is the ribbon hanging from the wreath on the stump. It is similar to bands which sometimes hang down from the backs of *strophía* on statues of priests or from *strophía* carved on honorary monuments.⁴⁸ It is the *ταυρία* or *ταυρίδιον* or *λημνίσκος* which

⁴⁷ By itself, however, the scalp-lock is not a convincing feature for an identification since the arrangement in the hair over the forehead in nos. 1-8 may be simply a hair style and have nothing to do with a religious custom. And it is quite conceivable that the custom did not exist at Eleusis in the fifth century but was introduced later. The same applies for the tuft of hair in C.

⁴⁸ See, e.g., at Athens, *Hesperia* 23 (1954): p. 233 no. 1; at Smyrna, L. Robert, *Hellenica*, 11-12, pl. 25.

was occasionally awarded together with a crown and sometimes probably had religious significance.⁴⁹

Nos. 2 and 3, the Antonine copies, are wearing on their heads not a wreath but a curled band, a *strophion*, the customary headdress of the hierophant and daduch. Thus the *strophion* was either a part of the headdress of the hearth-initiate as well, or, more likely, the Antonine copyist, ignorant of the precise Eleusinian context, added a well-known Eleusinian element which did not in fact form part of the ceremonial dress of the hearth-initiate. The short right sleeve of no. 2 is certainly an error of the Antonine copyist, for initiates of the Mysteries kept their right arm bare,⁵⁰ a custom better reflected in no. 1, where the left arm is bare.⁵¹ The contaminations, then, are striking only in the Antonine copies, and do not appear, except for one simple error in copying (the wrong arm bare), in the Julio-Claudian (or Hadrianic) copy.

According to the above mentioned suggestion of L. Spaulding⁵² the original of nos. 1–8 was a creation of a Hellenistic classicizing eclectic school, such as the Pasitelean school which was active around the beginning of the first century B.C. Though some historical support for this view might at first seem to be offered by the fact that the earliest preserved statue bases of hearth-initiates are from the second century (perhaps no earlier than the fourth quarter), this still does not preclude the possibility that at least the Julio-Claudian (or Hadrianic) copy is a direct copy of a fifth-century original. Statues of people (as opposed to gods) were rare in the fifth century and we possess no statue base of any Eleusinian official of that time; yet an Early Classical statue of a hearth-initiate as a type could well have been set up as a dedication. A statement of Dio Chrysostom, usually overlooked as evidence for the hearth-initiate, offers some reason for regarding this possibility as a serious one. In his *Rhodian Oration* (written during the Flavian period), Dio attempts to persuade the Rhodians to abandon their dishonorable custom of re-using statue bases; at one point⁵³ he refers to those engaging in this who defend themselves with the argument that they are re-using only very ancient bases some of which

are uninscribed: οἷον ὅταν λέγωσι τοῖς σφόδρα ἀρχαίοις καταχρῆσθαι καὶ τινὰς εἶναι καὶ ἀνεπιγράψους. He then gives two reasons of his own for the lack of inscriptions on these bases: the statues were of great men or heroes who did not need to be identified, or they were of gods. Among his examples he mentions⁵⁴: καὶ παρ' Ἀθηναίοις Ἐλευσινίου μύστου παιδὸς εἰκὼν οὐκ ἔχουσα ἐπιγραφὴν· κάκεινον εἶναι λέγουσιν Ἡρακλέα. The only *mystai* at Eleusis who were *παῖδες*, so far as is known, were the *παῖδες ἀφ' ἑστίας μνηθέντες*, and if Sokolowski's restoration of lines 24–26 of *I.G.*, I², 6 is correct,⁵⁵ there existed a regulation forbidding children to be initiates unless they were hearth-initiates. Thus it would appear that the statue mentioned by Dio was a hearth-initiate—unless he was actually Heracles. But the interpretation of the figure as Heracles looks very much like an uncritical attempt to explain an old uninscribed statue as that of a god (since he obviously was not a famous man), an explanation which Dio was none too eager to question because he might lose ammunition for his point. Heracles, in fact, as the stories go, was not initiated as a boy but as a man,⁵⁶ and is so represented in a Hellenistic relief found in the Ilissos.⁵⁷ Thus I think it unlikely that the statue to which Dio refers is a Heracles; at the same time it is understandable that someone wishing to identify an ancient statue of an initiate with a god would pick Heracles: most early statues were of gods or heroes or (impossible in this case) famous men, and Heracles' initiation was well known. Of course, we do not know how ancient Dio's σφόδρα ἀρχαία εἰκὼν was; but it may well have been Early Classical; at the least it suggests a serious possibility, on historical grounds, that the Roman copies could go directly back to an Early Classical original. On artistic grounds I think that statue no. 1 does derive from a fifth-century original, perhaps in bronze, the corkscrew locks being a clear later addition, and that Spaulding's assertion of a Hellenistic original for the reason that the statue shows "a knowledge of anatomy and technical skill" and "a sense of reality" unattainable in the fifth century⁵⁸ is simply not valid. A fifth century date for the original is indeed now generally favored by art historians.⁵⁹ For the Hellenistic period about all that can be said historically is that statues of hearth-initiates did exist. Some of them may have been represented in a classicizing style. In the third century A.D. the current portrait style was used.

Although the Julio-Claudian (or Hadrianic) copy

⁴⁹ *I.G.*, II², 1292, lines 11–12, καὶ [σ]τεφανῶσαι θαλλοῦ [στεφανῶναι σὺν τ]αινιδίῳ; for a discussion of this see E. Vanderpool, *Δελφικόν* 23 (1968): p. 6, with further references to the *ταῖνια*, and L. Robert, *Arch. Éph.* 1969: pp. 22–23. Cf. also σ[τ]εφανῶναι ἐλάας μετὰ ταινιδίου φοινικίου, Sokolowski, *Lois Sacrées de l'Asie Mineure*, 11, lines 2–5 (= *S.I.G.*³, 1018), worn by a priest in Pergamon in the third century B.C.; στεφανῶσαι θαλλοῦ στεφάνῳ καὶ λημ[ν]ίσκῳ, *I.G.*, II², 1297, lines 9–11; 1333, line 7; 1366, line 25; and G. B. Hussey, *Papers of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens* 5 (1886–1890): p. 136. Further references, including many not to the religious custom, are given by C. B. Welles, *Royal Correspondence in the Hellenistic Period* (New Haven, 1934), p. 369.

⁵⁰ See Mylonas, *Eleusis*, pp. 197, 201, 203, 209, 216.

⁵¹ In no. 1 the error is of a type very frequent in copies.

⁵² *Op. cit.*, p. 56 (see above, p. 101).

⁵³ *Oratio*, XXXI, 90, 22–23 (ed. von Arnim, Vol. I, p. 245).

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 92, 7–9, p. 246.

⁵⁵ See above, pp. 10–11.

⁵⁶ Apollodorus, II, 5, 12; for a list of sources see Frazer's edition of Apollodorus, *ad loc.*, and E. B. Harrison, *A.J.A.* 71 (1967): p. 44, n. 143.

⁵⁷ See U. Hausmann, *Griechische Weihreliefs* (Berlin, 1960), p. 82, fig. 47.

⁵⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 56.

⁵⁹ See above, n. 26.

of the hearth initiate exhibits no characteristics that are certainly foreign to a hearth-initiate except the copyist's minor error in representing the left arm bare instead of the right, this simple error is probably enough to show that the statue was not intended to be set up at Eleusis or in the Eleusinion at Athens. The artist was probably resident in Rome, where the statue was found. This is even more evident in the case of the Antonine copies, nos. 2 and 3. No. 2 has a sandal on one foot, the other foot bare, short sleeves on both arms, and a *strophion* instead of a wreath; the latter feature occurs also on no. 3. The single sandal was apparently a Roman custom⁶⁰; the *strophion* was added perhaps from the artist's imprecise memory of things Eleusinian.⁶¹

From the sculptural evidence as a whole it emerges that the hearth-initiate, like the other *mystai*, wore a myrtle wreath and a garment that left his right shoulder bare, carried a myrtle staff, and made an offering of a piglet. Peculiar to him are the short chiton reaching to just above the knees (in all cases except C) and the long lock of hair, which he consecrated to the goddesses (a custom which, however, may not have been current as early as the fifth century). The fact that the wreath is not worn but is attached to the stump in no. 1 may signify that the representation is of a hearth-initiate at a particular stage in the ceremonies before the wreath was worn.⁶²

INDIVIDUALS (CONTINUED)

14. Τιβ Κλαύδιος Δημόστρατος Τιβ Κλ Νεικοτέλους Σουνιεύς. E. Kapetanopoulos, 'Αρχ. Έφ. 1964: pp. 120–123, with a stemma. Around 50–70 A.D.

Kapetanopoulos correctly identified him with the Claudius Demonstratus of Sunion who was archon, hoplite general, gymnasiarch, herald of the Areopagus, agonothe of the Panathenaea and Eleusinia, exegete of the Eumolpidae, and priest of Poseidon Erechtheus. If the dedication was erected around the time he was hearth-initiate, the stemma makes it appear im-

⁶⁰ See K. Esdaile, *op. cit.*, p. 1.

⁶¹ The confusion may have resulted from the band that was used to bind the boy's hair in no. 1.

⁶² Possibly a terracotta representation of a hearth-initiate is a male figure found in the "Demeter Cistern" in the Agora, published by D. B. Thompson, *Hesperia* 23 (1954): pp. 103–104 and pl. 24. A staff is cradled between his left arm and body, and perhaps he held a piglet in his now missing right hand. His cloak is draped about his midsection and hangs over his left arm. I am not completely convinced that he is a boy, as Thompson believes; he may have been a regular initiate. Also possibly a hearth-initiate is Furtwängler, *Masterpieces of Greek Sculpture*, p. 333, fig. 142, but here too a regular initiate would seem to be possible.

In regard to the terracottas of young boys found in the Agora excavations of 1968 (*Hesperia* 38 [1969]: p. 393 and pl. 104c), the boots, the strange headdress, and the cloak covering the shoulders make it very difficult to connect them with the hearth-initiates of Eleusis.

probable that he would have been initiated much later than 70 A.D., and the gentilicia point most likely to a date not earlier than the reign of Claudius.

His daughter married Sospis the daduch (no. 20). Demonstratus was, of course, a Eumolpid.

15. Κλαυδία Ἀλκία Τιβ Κλαυδίου Ἱππάρχου Μαραθωνίου θυγάτηρ. *I.G.*, II², 3604A. *P.I.R.*², C 1068. Woloch, 1966: Claudius no. 98. Around 50–70 A.D.

She was the sister of the father of Herodes Atticus. The dedication *I.G.*, II², 3604A, honoring her as a hearth-initiate, was set up when Cleo was priestess of Demeter and Kore (no. 9), and therefore cannot be much later than 70 A.D.

16. The son or grandson of a daduch from the daduchic family of the deme Hagnous. *I.G.*, II², 3511. First half of first century A.D.

Only a fragment is preserved; restoration is uncertain. The stone shows part of another line before line 1, with the letters —, i.e., δῆμος or Δι[οκλέα. For the family see above, table 1, p. 58.

17. Τ Φλ Σοφοκλῆς Τ Φλ Κωνωνος Σουνιεύς. *I.G.*, II², 3552, as restored by A. Raubitschek, *Jahreshefte* 1948, Beiblatt: coll. 35–40, with stemma. Around 80 A.D.

Raubitschek identified him with the Athenian archon of 121/2 (*Inscriptions de Délos*, 2535). He comes from a distinguished family; offices held by known members include the archonship, hoplite generalship, and the priesthood of Asclepius.

18. Πούπλιος Φούλβιος Μητρόδωρος Πο Φουλβίου Μαξίμου Σουνιεύς. *I.G.*, II², 3581 and new fragment published by Kapetanopoulos, 'Αρχ. Έφ. 1968: p. 191, no. 19. Woloch, 1966: Fulvius no. 1. Before 100 A.D.

Metrodorus was archon sometime before 112/3⁶³; therefore the date of this dedication should be sometime before 100 A.D., at the least; Kapetanopoulos suggests "ca. a. 70 p." His father Maximus is otherwise unknown.

19. Ἀθηναίς, granddaughter of a hierophantid. *I.G.*, II², 3553. First century A.D. (dated by Kirchner).

She is called a *μύστις* and a *κούρη* (of the son of the hierophantid), undoubtedly a poetic rendering for hearth-initiate.

20. Σείλων Ἀπολλωνίου Μελιτεύς. *I.G.*, II², 3551. First century A.D. (dated by Kirchner).

The Areopagus, the Boule of the Six Hundred, and the Demos made the dedication, but the boy's father

⁶³ *I.G.*, II², 2021, line 13.

was the epimelete of the dedication and so bore the cost. The persons are unknown.

21. Τερτία Λευκί[υ] θυγάτηρ. *I.G.*, II², 3554. First century A.D.

This monument, dedicated by the Boule and the Demos, records that she was also *errephoros* for Athena Polias and a *kanephoros* at the Epidauria and at the Eleusinia. She is otherwise unknown.

22. Daughter of a man from Hamaxanteia. *I.G.*, II², 3569. First or second century.
 23. Κλαυδία [-----]. *I.G.*, II², 3568 (see above, p. 74). First or second century. While Dione was priestess of Demeter and Kore (no. 14).
 24. Ἀγαθόπους Φρόντωνος Μαραθώνιος. *I.G.*, II², 3657. Second century.

A member of this family is perhaps mentioned in *I.G.*, II², 3929. Oliver suggests that the lacuna of line 4 of *I.G.*, II², 3657 should probably be filled with the demotic, [Μαραθων]ίου, and that lines 1-2 can perhaps be restored [τὸν καὶ Ἀ]γαθ[όποδα καλούμενον Μα].

25. Boy or girl relative of the daduch Lysiades (no. 19). *I.G.*, II², 3611. First half of second century.

Since hieronymy was not observed, it may have been erected after Lysiades' death, in any case later than around the beginning of the second century, but it is not known whether hieronymy was in effect for the daduch at this time. Schmidt's restoration of a boy is arbitrary.

26. Ἀθηναῖος ὁ καὶ Ἐπαφρόδειτος Ἀθηναίου Φλυεύς. *I.G.*, II², 3577. Before 128/9.

His dedication was set up κατὰ τὰ δόξαντα τῇ ἐξ Ἀρείου Πάγου βουλῇ καὶ τῇ βουλῇ τῶν X. His father was a *periodonikes*. At the bottom of the dedication a metrical inscription is appended (perhaps many years after the original inscription), which mentions that when Athenaeus grew up his parents named him Athenophilus.

27. Τ Οὐψάνιος Φλαβιανὸς Κηφισιεύς. Ἀρχ. Ἐφ. 1971: p. 131, no. 27. Around 100-125.

His mother Vipsania Laeliana dedicated this statue base in his honor, while Flavia Laodameia was priestess of Demeter and Kore (no. 10), thus around 100-125. She was the daughter of L. Vipsanius Aeolion, an exegete of the Eumolpidae (no. 7).

28. Ἰουνία Μελιτίνη Δ Ἰουνίου Πάτρωνος Βερενικίδου θυγάτηρ. *I.G.*, II², 3557. Woloch, 1966: Junius no. 18. Around 125 A.D. (for the date see above, p. 74).

She was a hierophantid (no. 9) and is discussed above in more detail in this connection.

Her great-grandmother was a priestess of Demeter and Kore.

29. Γ Κλαύδιος Σειλανὸς Πολύκριτος. *I.G.*, II², 3586. Woloch, 1966: Claudius no. 84. Around 125.

He is apparently the same as the C. Claudius Silianus who erected a statue base in honor of Hadrian Olympius, therefore after 132 (*I.G.*, II², 3315). His parents, Claudius and Claudia, made the dedication during the priesthood of Claudia Timothea (no. 11).

30. Ζώπυρος Ζωπύρου Πειραιεύς. *I.G.*, II², 3587. Dedicated while Claudia Timothea was priestess of Demeter and Kore (no. 11), therefore during the reign of Hadrian. He is otherwise unknown.
 31. Δ Ἰούνιος Μενέας Δ Ἰουνίου Πάτρωνος Βερενικίδης. *I.G.*, II², 3619. Woloch, 1966: Junius no. 7. Around 125-140.

The brother of no. 28, he belonged to a distinguished family. His paternal grandfather was an exegete and his maternal great-grandmother was Flavia Laodameia the priestess of Demeter and Kore (no. 10). His daughter Neicostrate was also a hearth-initiate (no. 38).

32. Φλάβιος Ξενίων Ζηνοφίλου Μαραθώνιος. *I.G.*, II², 3676, as restored by J. H. Oliver, *Hesperia* 21 (1952): pp. 396-397. Before the middle of the second century.

His name is connected with the Eleusinian Endowment of 160-170 (discussed above, pp. 35-36). He belonged to a senatorial family from Crete,⁶⁴ the first member of which to receive Athenian citizenship was probably his father.⁶⁵ Xenion was an archon of the Panhellenion and received the special honor of *aristopoliteia*.⁶⁶ He died sometime between 177 and 182.⁶⁷ Thus he would have been hearth-initiate certainly before 150.

He is called τὸν ἀφ' ἐστίας. This is the first appearance, in a dedication, of the designation ὁ ἀφ' ἐστίας, instead of μνηθεῖς or μνηθεῖσα ἀφ' ἐστίας. Henceforth we shall note the precise term used for the hearth-initiate in dedications.

33. Νουμμία Κλεὼ Λουκίου Νουμμίου Φαιδρέου Φαληρεῖς. *I.G.*, II², 4069; 4070; Ἀρχ. Ἐφ. 1971: pp. 132-133, no. 29. Woloch, 1966: Nummianus no. 9, with stemma. Around the middle of the second century.

Her parents' fondness for her is apparent from *I.G.*, II², 4069 and 4070, two other dedications they erected

⁶⁴ For the family see Oliver, *op. cit.*, pp. 395-399.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 398-399.

⁶⁶ Ἀρχ. Ἐφ. 1971: pp. 116-117, no. 10 (= *I.G.*, II², 3627 + two new fragments); a text of this is given in Oliver, 1970: p. 102, no. 12.

⁶⁷ Oliver, *Hesperia* 21 (1952): pp. 398-399.

in her honor in addition to the one honoring her as hearth-initiate ('Αρχ. 'Εφ. 1971, *loc. cit.*). Her mother was the daughter of the sacred herald Nigrinus (no. 5), and married, probably after her marriage to Phaedreas, Aelius Praxagoras the daduch (no. 23).

Cleo is called *μνηθίσαν ἀφ' ἐστίας*.

34. Τις Κλαύδιος Ἀππίος Ἀτείλιος Βραδούας Κλ' Ἡρώδου Μαραθώνιος. *I.G.*, II², 3608. *P.I.R.*², C 785. Woloch, 1966: Claudius no. 15. Around 150 A.D.

Kapetanopoulos⁶⁸ corrected Kirchner's restoration of line 3 of *I.G.*, II², 3608 and restored the lacuna in line 4 just as I also did independently in my dissertation. At that time, however, I did not notice, as Kapetanopoulos did, additional letters in line 6 and that the first letter in line 8 is a lambda. I have since verified his readings and I offer here a slightly different version of lines 1–5, although Kapetanopoulos's version is also possible:

Τις Κλ' Ἀππίων [Ἀτείλιον Ἀττικόν]

Βραδούαν Κλ' [Ἡρώδου τοῦ ἀρ]

χιέρως καὶ [Ῥηγίλλης Ἀππίου]

- 4 ὑπάτου θυ[γατρὸς υἱόν, υἱόν]

τῆς Ἑλλ[άδος, μνηθέντα ἀφ' ἐ]

στίας [-----]

τῆς [-----]

- 8 ΔΗ[-----]

I agree with Kapetanopoulos in removing the formula for the eponymous priestess from the text, although the possibility still remains that a priestess was mentioned. His own restoration,

στίας ἀ[ναλωσάσης τὴν δαπάνην]

τῆς ἀ[ναθέσεως τῆς μητρὸς Ῥηγίλ]

λη[ς?],

may be correct, but the parallel he gives for the formula, *I.G.*, II², 3551, lines 3–5, reads *ἐπιμεληθέντος τ[ῆς] ἀναθέσεως*.

υἱὸς Ἑλλάδος was a title given also to his father (*I.G.*, II², 3604); for its significance see J. and L. Robert, *R.E.G.* 79 (1966): pp. 369–370, no. 186.

35. Κλαυδία Ἐλπινίκη Κλ' Ἡρώδου Μαραθωνίου θυγάτηρ. Ἀρχ. 'Εφ., 1971: p. 132, no. 28. *P.I.R.*², A 706. Woloch, 1966: Claudius no. 104. Around 150 A.D.

Since her death preceded her father's (he died *ca.* 177 A.D.), it would not be unreasonable to assume that the Eleusinian dedication published in Ἀρχ. 'Εφ., 1971 *loc. cit.*, was in honor of her as a girl, as a hearth-initiate.

36. Αὐρηλία Παραμόνα Αὐρ Παραμόνου Λαμπτρέως θυγάτηρ. *I.G.*, II², 3638. After the middle of the second century.

She and her parents are otherwise unknown. The date is based on the fact that the only securely datable inscriptions with the formula *κατὰ τὸ ἐπερώτημα τῆς βουλῆς τῶν Φ* occur after the middle of the second century,⁶⁹ and that the gentilicium is rare in Athens before 161/2.⁷⁰

She is called *τ[ὴν ἀφ'] ἐστίας*.

37. Αὐρηλία Μάγνα ἡ καὶ Ἑρμιόνη Αὐρ Ἐπαφροδείτου Πιθέως θυγάτηρ. *I.G.*, II², 3637. After the middle of the second century.

A date after the middle of the second century for this dedication is probably in order on account of the formula of authorization⁷¹ and the gentilicium (*cf.* no. 36).

She is called *τὴν ἀφ' ἐστίας*.

38. Ἰουνία Νεικοστράτη Ἰουνίου Μενέου Βερενικίδου θυγάτηρ. *I.G.*, II², 3647. Second half of second century.

Her father was also a hearth-initiate (no. 31). The Areopagus and the Demos set up this statue base in her honor with her guardian Gaius Cassius assuming the expense. Her father must have died while she was still a child.

She is called *μνηθεῖσαν ἀφ' ἐστίας*.

160–170

Included among the recipients of the Eleusinian Endowment of 160–170 (*I.G.*, II², 1092)⁷² are *οἱ σοὶ παῖδες* ἀφ' ἐστίας. Whether they received a single or double share is not preserved. As there was only one hearth-initiate each year, the use of the plural is interesting. Evidently hearth-initiates of previous years were also eligible. Surely eligibility ended when they ceased to be *παῖδες*, which would have been about the age of eighteen for boys, perhaps even earlier for girls.

39. Daughter of T. Flavius Leosthenes of Paiania. *I.G.*, II², 3648. Around 175 A.D.

This inscription and the family are discussed above (pp. 36–37, and note 183); the father cannot be identified with certainty with any known member of the family. Kapetanopoulos's reading of the end of the name as]αν is clear also on my squeeze; he suggests as a possibility [Φλαβία Εἰσιδώρ]α.⁷³ Her father was of course a Eumolpid.

She is called *τὴν ἀφ' ἐστίας μύστιν*.

⁶⁹ Cf. Gegan, 1967: pp. 153–154.

⁷⁰ Cf. Woloch, 1966: *s.v.* Aurelius.

⁷¹ Cf. Gegan, 1967: pp. 45–46.

⁷² See the discussion above, pp. 35–36 and below, p. 111.

⁷³ *R.E.G.* 83 (1970): p. 64, n. 4.

⁶⁸ Ἀρχ. 'Εφ. 1968: p. 212, no. 19a.

40. Κλαυδία Πραξαγόρα Κλ Δημοστράτου Μελιτέως θυγάτηρ. *I.G.*, II², 4077. In the third quarter of the second century.

The first part of the epigram on this statue base mentions her parents and their daduchic ancestry. Her father was Demonstratus the son of the daduch Sospis (no. 20), and her mother, Philiste, was the daughter of the daduch Praxagoras (no. 23).

The motivation for the dedication, which is mentioned at the end of the epigram and has baffled editors, reads:

ἀλλά με καὶ παίδων κοσμεῖ χορός, οἷ τὸ προμυστῶν
ἄλλων ἐν τελεταῖς στέμμα κόμαισι θέσαν.

Kirchner noted that *προμυστῆς* is found nowhere else.⁷⁴ However, if we divide this word into *πρὸ μυστῶν*, the sentence begins to make sense: a chorus of children, also,⁷⁵ decorates her by placing in her hair the myrtle crown in front of the other initiates at the *telele*. The presence of children and Praxagora's pre-eminence among the initiates suggests that she was a hearth-initiate. The chorus and the crowning, then, would have taken place at the beginning of the *telele*, in the courtyard of the sanctuary at Eleusis or perhaps in Athens just before the procession set out for Eleusis; it was probably also at this point that the hierophantid, ἀρχομένη τῶν τελετῶν, crowned Marcus Aurelius and Commodus (see above, p. 88).

It is possible that the present tense of *κοσμεῖ* refers to the fact that the piece of sculpture which once stood on Praxagora's base represented a group of children placing a fillet on her head. Of which children did the *χορός παίδων* consist? They may have been the former hearth-initiates who were each year among those who received a share in the Eleusinian Endowment (see above, p. 110), and who may actually have formed part of the priestly van of the procession of the Mysteries (see above, pp. 35–36). If so, the custom may have been that the previous *παῖδες ἀφ' ἐστίας* would crown the new hearth-initiate each year, who, in turn, after his service for that year, then joined their chorus in which he took part year after year until he passed from childhood to adulthood.

41. Μ Αὐρήλιος Μιλτιάδης Ἀγαθοκλέους Μαραθῶνιος. *I.G.*, II², 3677. After 161/2.

The dedication was made by his father. Miltiades is called [τὸν ἀφ' ἐ]στ(ι)ας μύστην.

42. Κασσιανὸς Ἱεροκῆρυξ. *I.G.*, II², 3707. In the last quarter of the second century. He is discussed above as a herald (no. 11).

In this dedication the title of hearth-initiate is mentioned together with his other titles and offices as

⁷⁴ *πρόμυστις*, however, occurs on a Thracian inscription.

⁷⁵ That is, in addition to being decorated by her lineage mentioned previously in the epigram.

a grown man; it is the only known instance where this was done. He was in office as sacred herald in 230/1. He is called τὸν ἀφ' ἐστίας μύστην.

43. Ποπλία Αἰλία Ἑρεννία Πο Αἰλίου Ἀπολλωνίου Ἀντινοέως θυγάτηρ. *I.G.*, II², 3688, with stemma. In the last quarter of the second century.

Her *protheios* (father's uncle) was the daduch P. Aelius Dionysius (no. 22), and her mother was later to become a hierophantid (no. 11). Her father was eponymous archon, basileus, hoplite general, epimelete of the *gymnasiarchia*, and herald of the Areopagus. Further members of this family have been identified above (p. 64). In this inscription, erected by her mother, the hearth-initiate is said to be a descendant of Conon and Callimachus.

The date of the inscription ought to be earlier than Kirchner's "beginning of the third century," if it was set up close to the time she served as hearth-initiate, and this is supported to a certain extent by the fact that her mother was not yet hierophantid.

She is called τὴν ἀφ' ἐστίας μύστιν.

44. Α Γέλλιος Ξεναγόρας Α Γελλίου Ξεναγόρου. *I.G.*, II², 3686. Stemma: Oliver, *Expounders*, p. 164. Last quarter of the second century.

The verse dedication in his honor, *I.G.*, II², 3686, calls him *παῖδα* of Xenagoras and Praxagora, τὸν μύστην Διοῦς. This is probably a poetical way of expressing *παῖς ἀφ' ἐστίας μυηθείς*; a similar expression for the hearth-initiate occurs in *I.G.*, II², 3553, the dedication honoring hearth-initiate no. 19. Xenagoras was archon sometime early in the third century (*Hesperia* 10 [1941]: p. 260, no. 64; *ibid.* 11 [1942]: pp. 87–88). His mother Praxagora was also a hearth-initiate (no. 40) as was also his son (no. 49).

45. Τ Φλάβιος Ἀτείμητος Τ Φλ Ἀγάθωνος Πειραιεύς. *I.G.*, II², 3656. Around the end of the second century.

Notopoulos identified his father with the prytany-secretary of 195/6.⁷⁶ The dedication was made by his mother, Papia Onesime, daughter of Papius Onesimus of Besa.

Ateimetos is called τὸν γενόμενον ἀφ' ἐστίας.

46. Κλαυδία Θεμιστόκλεια Κλ Φιλίππου Μελιτέως θυγάτηρ. *I.G.*, II², 3693. Beginning of the third century.

Because of the lack of hieronymy, the inscription was set up after her father (daduch no. 24) died (*ca.* 196). It was seen above that he died relatively young, when probably not more than fifty years old.

She is called τὴν ἀφ' ἐστίας, not τὴμ ἀφ' ἐστίας as Kirchner read.

⁷⁶ *I.G.*, II², 1806a; Notopoulos, *Hesperia* 18 (1949): p. 18 and table I.

47. Κλαυδία Μένανδρα Κλ Φιλίππου Μελιτέως θυγάτηρ.
Below, appendix V. Beginning of the third century.

She was the sister of Claudia Themistocleia. Their statue bases were set up in close sequence (see append. V). This must reflect the fact that they were hearth-initiates within a very short space of one another, perhaps in two successive years.

48. 'Αφ' ἐστίας Τ Φλ —[...^{ca. 7}... 'Α]χαρνέως. Geagan, 1967: p. 164, line 6. Beginning of third century.

His name appears (as written above) beneath the heading of a catalog of Kerykes and is followed by ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ. His father is mentioned directly above, as the treasurer who was responsible for the publication of the list, which he probably did at his own expense in honor of his son who was made hearth-initiate in this year.⁷⁷

49. Ἀ Γέλλιος Πολύζηλος Ἀ Γελλίου Ξεναγόρου. *I.G.*, II², 3706; Oliver, *Expounders*, I 52; Geagan, 1967: p. 169, line 212. Stemma: *Expounders*, p. 164. First quarter of the third century.

In an epigram engraved on a monument erected at Eleusis (*I.G.*, II², 3706) he is called μυστῶν ἡγητῆρα, certainly a reference to some office connected with the Eleusinian Mysteries. The ἐξηγητής and, less attractively, the hierophant's leading role come to mind, but neither is likely because the man was a member of the Kerykes.⁷⁸ Since, as we have seen, the hearth-initiate had a leading role and representative function in relation to the rest of the initiates, it is most probably the title of this "leader of the initiates" which has been poetically rendered by ἡγητῆρ μυστῶν.

In *I.G.*, II², 3662, an epigram⁷⁹ honoring a hierophant, μυστικὸν ἡγεμόνα is some charge which the hierophant assumed before becoming hierophant; perhaps it is the same as ἡγητῆρ μυστῶν.

Gellius Polyzelus was a member of an aristocratic Delphian family which also possessed Athenian citizenship and played an active part in the political and religious life of Athens. At Delphi he was ἱερός παῖς τοῦ Πυθίου καὶ πρέσβυς τῶν ὁσίων. His sister's grandson was a hierophant.⁸⁰ His father and grandmother were also hearth-initiates (nos. 44 and 40).

50. 'Ονωρατιανὴ Πολυχάρμης ἡ καὶ Φαιναρέτῃ 'Ονωρατιανοῦ Πολυχάρμου θυγάτηρ. *I.G.*, II², 3710. Around 225. Stemma: Kapetanopoulos, *B.C.H.* 92 (1968): pp. 493–518, stemma C.

⁷⁷ Geagan, *op. cit.*, p. 180.

⁷⁸ Geagan, *op. cit.*, p. 169, line 212. *Mystagogos* is also very unlikely, since it involved only being a member of the Kerykes or Eumolpidae, and no honors are ever recorded for them.

⁷⁹ See Oliver, *Hesperia*, Suppl. 8 (1949): p. 253.

⁸⁰ See stemma *ad I.G.*, II², 3609 and that of Kapetanopoulos, *B.C.H.* 92 (1968): pp. 493–518, stemma C.

She was the daughter of Claudia Themistocleia, who was the daughter of the daduch Praxagoras (no. 23) and was herself a hearth-initiate (no. 46). Polycharmis's daughter, Junia Themistocleia, was also a hearth-initiate (no. 52).

She is called τὴν ἀφ' ἐστίας.

51. Πο Αἴλιος Τειμοσθένης Αἰλ Ζήνωνος Βερενικίδης. *I.G.*, II², 3708 (= Oliver, *Expounders*, I 49). Around 230 (Oliver's date).

His father was pythochrestus exegete and priest of Apollo Patrous.⁸¹

He is called μνηθεὶς ἀφ' ἐστίας.

52. 'Ιουνία Θεμιστόκλεια. *I.G.*, II², 3679. Around 250. Woloch, 1966: Junius no. 19a. Stemma: Kapetanopoulos, *loc. cit.* (above, no. 50).

Her mother, a hearth-initiate also (no. 50), was the great-granddaughter of Claudius Philippus the daduch (who died around 196). Most of the inscription honoring Themistocleia is taken up by her mother's declaration of nobility: she was a descendant of daduchs and of Pericles, Conon, and Alexander the Great.

Themistocleia is called τὴν ἀφ' ἐστίας.

53. Φάβιος. *I.G.*, II², 3646. *P.I.R.*², F 14. Second century or later.

He was of senatorial rank and held important Roman military posts. His mother was a high-priestess of Μήτηρ [τῶν θεῶν] Βοιωτία. The family is otherwise unknown.

54. Boy or girl. Δελτίον 21A (1966): p. 141, no. 3 (= *S.E.G.*, XXIV, 229).

This is a fragment of a statue base; line 5 should be restored to read: [— ἀφ' ἐστίας μ[νηθ—] or μ[ύστ—]. S. N. Koumanoudes, the editor, suggests as a date the end of the second century A.D., but it seems that almost any time between the second century B.C. and the middle of the third century A.D. is possible, since there are only the letter-forms on which to base a judgment.

55. *Ath. Mitt.* 18 (1893): p. 208, no. 2. This inscription,⁸² published by A. Körte, was not included by Kirchner in *Inscriptiones Graecae*.

Körte read:

Ν Ι Ι Ν Δ Ο Β Ο Δ Ο '
 Ν Ο Τ Σ Ι Ο Τ Θ Υ Τ Η Ν
 Φ Ε Σ Τ Ι Α Σ

⁸¹ See Oliver, *Expounders*, I 47–50 and *I.G.*, II², 3697.

⁸² I wish to thank E. Vanderpool for calling this inscription to my attention.

and edited:

..... Κυκ]λοβόλου
Μυρρι]νουσίου(?) θύτην
μνηθέντα ἀ]φ' ἐστίας.

Ἀγ]νουσίου is of course also possible, and in line 3, μνηθείσαν. I suspect that θυγατ[έρα] appeared in line 2; the term θύτης is otherwise unattested at Eleusis and the demotic in the genitive contributes to the suspicion. Körte later confessed disbelief in Κυκ]λοβόλου.⁸³ I tried unsuccessfully to find the stone in the summer of 1969.

56. Hieron. Ἀρχ. Ἐφ. 1971: pp. 135–136, no. 32. Unknown date, sometime after third century B.C. and before third century A.D.

He is honored by his mother, which is a reasonable indication that he was a hearth-initiate, since most Eleusinian dedications by parents are in honor of their children as hearth-initiates.

GENERAL REMARKS

Very few of the known hearth-initiates are from unknown families; the vast majority are ἐκ τῶν προκρίτων, from families which were among the most active and distinguished in the civic and religious life of Athens. This is the most discernible pattern in the prosopographical evidence. Many were children or descendants of Eumolpidae or Kerykes; in fact, none is known not to have been a child of a member of these *gene*, but we cannot conclude from this that they were all drawn from these *gene*, especially since the new fragments of a fourth-century inscription make it fairly clear that at that time any Athenian was eligible to enroll his child for selection. But if every Athenian was eligible, why then is the vast majority from aristocratic families? An answer becomes possible when we consider that the existence of only fifty-nine separate hearth-initiates is attested from epigraphical monuments (almost all of which are statue bases), that is, a tiny fraction of all those who did serve as hearth-initiates, one each year, between the time of the earliest datable monuments, the last quarter of the second century B.C., to the latest, around the middle of the third century A.D. The answer, then, seems to be that only the wealthy could afford to set up monuments to their children, and this is clearly reflected in the monuments preserved. Certainly wealth was not a pre-requisite for becoming a hearth-initiate, since the costs were paid by the state⁸⁴; but when it came time to immortalize this service, only the rich could afford it.

It is probably not accidental that the first monuments to individual hearth-initiates appear in the second century B.C. In the Hellenistic period senti-

mental love for children first manifests itself in many other ways as well.⁸⁵

Only one monument is preserved for each known hearth-initiate as hearth-initiate. This may be an accident, but more likely it had its origin in a restriction imposed by necessity: dedications to hearth-initiates were the most abundant form of dedication in the sanctuary at Eleusis, and if all wealthy relatives of a hearth-initiate had free rein, the sanctuary could easily in a short time have become intolerably cluttered. Of course a dedication authorized for some other honor could also mention that the person had been a hearth-initiate, and this occurred in at least one case, that of Cassianus the sacred herald (initiate no. 42), but it also happens that no statue base of him just as a hearth-initiate is preserved.

It was the practice, at least in the fourth century B.C., that the basileus would choose the hearth-initiate by lot. The involvement of this official is very probably an indication of the great antiquity of the hearth-initiate, who otherwise appears as early as around 460 B.C.

The relationship to a hearth is obscure, but *ἐστία* was probably not hearth in a metaphorical sense but a real hearth; it probably had a physical relationship with the child's *myesis*, his pre-initiation, which was the original meaning of this word.⁸⁶

Involved in his pre-initiation or in the ceremonies of one of the first days of the festival was his offering of a piglet, just as it was for every other candidate,⁸⁷ and he is represented in statues carrying a piglet and dressed in a short chiton. At this moment he did not wear the myrtle crown and the *ταυρία*; they were set on his head later, apparently by a chorus of hearth-initiates of previous years, in the presence of all the other initiates, at some moment just before the initiates set out for Eleusis, that is, at the beginning of the *telele*.⁸⁸ In the procession he walked together with the other hearth-initiates, most likely at their head, as representative of all the initiates, the ἡγητὴρ μυστῶν.⁸⁹ At some time during the festival, perhaps at Eleusis, he consecrated his scalp-lock to Demeter and Kore.⁹⁰

TERMINOLOGY

The dedications seem to indicate a development in the terminology for designating the hearth-initiate.

⁸³ See Nilsson, *The Dionysiac Mysteries of the Hellenistic and Roman Age* (Lund, 1957), p. 111, and the literature cited there.

⁸⁴ See above, p. 99.

⁸⁵ Cf. Aristophanes, *Acharnians*, 747, *Frogs*, 338, *Peace*, 374–375; Foucart, 1914: pp. 294, 314–318; Mylonas, *Eleusis*, pp. 249–250.

⁸⁶ See above, p. 111. The crowning could have taken place at Eleusis.

⁸⁷ See above, p. 112.

⁸⁸ See above, pp. 101–108.

⁸³ *Gnomon* 11 (1935): p. 627.

⁸⁴ See above, p. 99.

Up to approximately 130 A.D.⁹¹ only the designation *μνηθής* or *μνηθεῖσα ἀφ' ἑστίας* is used; but during the rest of the second century *ὁ* (or *ἡ*) *ἀφ' ἑστίας μύστης* (or *μύστις*), or more frequently just *ὁ* (or *ἡ*) *ἀφ' ἑστίας*, occurs along with the previous designation, and in the third century it completely supersedes it, except in one case (no. 51). This development favors (but does not demand) a date before the third century for the following three undated inscriptions in which no names are preserved but only *μνηθής* or *μνηθεῖσα ἀφ' ἑστίας*.

57. Boy. *I.G.*, II², 3723. While Ithake was eponymous priestess (no. 17).
 58. Boy. *I.G.*, II², 3724. The last two letters of his demotic are preserved.
 59. Girl. *I.G.*, II², 3727. She was also a *kanephoros* for Isis.

POSSIBLE HEARTH-INITIATE

A dedication of the second or first century B.C. ('*Αρχ. Έφ.* 1971: p. 129, no. 24) may well be in honor of a hearth-initiate, though other restorations are possible. The name of the person honored is Helico, perhaps Helico daughter of Theogenes of Leukonoion (*P.A.*, 4663 and 8021) who is dated approximately to the first century B.C.

XI. CONCLUSIONS

In his section on "Caractères du sacerdoce Éleusinien" Foucart¹ compares the ordinary Athenian priesthood to those which belonged exclusively to *gene*. The former, he points out, could be held by any qualified citizen or daughter of a citizen; they were temporary appointments, almost always just for a year. It did not involve much effort for the appointee to acquaint himself with the ritual, or even to perform his duties; the temples were opened only a few times a year, at the time of the festivals, so that a priest could comfortably take on more than one priesthood if he wished. With no doctrine or morality to teach, these priests had no lasting religious influence; at the end of their appointment they simply resumed their regular life, which had not been affected much anyway by their priestly duties. The priesthoods of the *gene*, on the other hand, were different in significant ways: "Almost always the priest or the priestess was chosen for life. Thus they had the time and the inclination to become attached to their functions; the tradition and the special rites of the clan became very familiar to them. Members of a

genos were all the more interested in their particular cult as it concerned a god who was their ancestor or who had been the protector of the heroes from whom they were descended."² Foucart goes on to point out circumstances which made the Eleusinian priests exceptional even among priesthoods of *gene*: the antiquity of the sanctuary, which together with Eleusis was autonomous for a long time, its exceptional privileges even after losing its autonomy, the extent of its properties (Sacred Orgas, Rarian Plain, *Rhettoi*), the numerous personnel maintained for the celebration of the festivals, and most importantly, the attraction and popularity of the Mysteries which already by the beginning of the fifth century had taken on a Panhellenic character. However, in describing the role of the Eleusinian priests in connection with the Alcibiades affair he goes too far when he says that they give "l'impression d'un corps sacerdotal, parlant et agissant au nom des divinités mystérieuses d'Éleusis." As we have seen,³ they were *ordered* to curse Alcibiades, and not all of them obeyed⁴; later they were ordered to undo their curses. They acted in the name of the Goddesses *and* the Polis. Even though at least one of them⁵ probably had a personal grudge against Alcibiades and as a group they were not fond of him,⁶ the curse was initiated not by them but by the city, and the city's role was made painfully clear by the hierophant in the statement he made at the moment he was forced to take back his curse.

In the pre-Roman period there is no sign that the Eleusinian priests possessed political clout in any significant or consistent way. It is conspicuously absent in the case of the priests in the Alcibiades' affair and especially in the case of the hierophant Archias (no. 3) who was condemned on a charge of impiety. However, in their own religious sphere (provided that they were acting properly) their authority was considerable, as is clear in the case of the hierophant Eurycleides (no. 8) who attempted to bring the philosopher Theodorus to trial for joking about the Mysteries (and may have succeeded). With some notable lapses,⁷ they were probably in general zealous guardians of the Mysteries' sanctity and propriety.⁸

In the Roman period many of the priests held high political offices (apparently not the rule before then), but their political success at this time, as it appears, was due to many factors, among which wealth figured in no small way, and not *primarily* to the holding of an Eleusinian priesthood, though chances for political

² *Ibid.*

³ Above, pp. 15-16.

⁴ Above, p. 16.

⁵ Callias the daduch (no. 2).

⁶ See above, p. 49.

⁷ See above, pp. 17, 49, 50.

⁸ For their special courage in this respect we may single out the daduch Pythodorus (no. 4) and the hierophant Julius (no. 25).

⁹¹ The date of Flavius Xenion as hearth-initiate (no. 32), who is the first called *τὸν ἀφ' ἑστίας*, cannot be much earlier than this, if at all.

¹ 1914: pp. 224-225.

office were probably enhanced if one held an Eleusinian priesthood, and vice versa.

Even though in the time of Aeschines *gene* as well as priests and priestesses who received *γέρα* were subject to audit,⁹ the Eleusinian priesthoods, as was discussed above,¹⁰ were not regarded as magistracies.

The administration of the sanctuary was in the hands of the *gene* of the Eumolpidae and the Kerykes,¹¹ their chief executives in this being the hierophant and the daduch,¹² with important assistance, at least in the fifth century B.C., from other priestly members of these *gene*.¹³ At this early date the priestess of Demeter and Kore was in charge of some expenditures, probably just those for the festival of the Mysteries and not those of the sanctuary in general¹⁴; how long afterwards she continued to possess this charge is not known.

PROTOCOL

There are a few inscriptions in which the Eleusinian priests are arranged in a certain order. In a law of ca. 460 B.C.¹⁵ the priestess of Demeter and Kore is probably preceded, in the now missing part of the inscription, by the hierophant and daduch, and she is followed, in an addition at the end of the original document, by the altar-priest, the [herald] of the Goddesses, and the [παραγής] priest. In a decree¹⁶ of 20/19 which lists a number (all, I suspect)¹⁷ of the priests of the Kerykes at this time (who speak here on behalf of the daduch honored in this decree), the order is: daduch (the object of the decree and so not in the list of those speaking on his behalf), altar-priest, *pyrphoros*, herald of the Goddesses, *παραγής* herald. In the *aeisitoi* lists (see append. IV) the order is usually: hierophant, daduch, sacred herald, altar-priest, *pyrphoros*. For an order involving the priests and priestesses of the entire cult (and some others) we can turn to the Eleusinian Endowment of 160-170,¹⁸ where the arrangement is as follows: hierophant, daduch, exegetes, sacred herald, altar-priest, priestess of Demeter and Kore, hierophantids, *phaidyntes*, *Iakchagogos*, *pyrphoros*, *παραγής*, priest of the God and Goddess, priest of Triptolemus. The order here, where all the priestesses are included, is somewhat different from that in lists where only priests appear: some priests who appear high up in lists limited just to priests or to priests of one *genos*

are here much lower down in the list. The most striking changes of position are those of the *pyrphoros* and *παραγής*, who appear relatively high up in the decree of 20/19 (where the *pyrphoros* precedes even the sacred herald), but in the Endowment behind the sacred herald and altar-priest as well as several other priests and priestesses.¹⁹ In regard to the position of the priestess of Demeter and Kore, the Endowment, which is arranged by groups (and may reflect the order of the priests and priestesses in the procession to Eleusis), cannot fairly be compared to the law of ca. 460.

All this is not to say that there was a hierarchy in the modern religious sense, but that there was, when the priesthoods were listed together, an arrangement of order or protocol which for the most part remained relatively consistent. No Eleusinian priest was the "superior" of any other; but the lists apparently reflect the fact that some priests had more important roles in the cult and consequently more prestige than others.

The hierophant and the priestess of Demeter and Kore, as was argued in the General Remarks of chapter III, were at least in the Classical period the primary religious representatives of the cult, and some evidence suggests that the priestess was involved with the cult at a much earlier date than the hierophant. In this regard it is noteworthy that the hierophant was not allowed to hold any other priesthood in any other cult, a rule which apparently remained in force until the death of the last legitimate hierophant at the end of the fourth century A.D. Nor is there any evidence that the priestess of Demeter and Kore ever held any other priesthood. It appears that these priesthoods were associated with the cult of Demeter and Kore at Eleusis intimately and exclusively. On the other hand, this rule did not apply to the daduch, sacred herald, *pyrphoros*, and *παραγής*; that is, to all of the significant priesthoods of the Kerykes except, perhaps, the altar-priest, for whom there is no evidence, but it would be reasonable to assume that he too was allowed to hold another priesthood. Thus the priests of the Kerykes appear to have been less closely attached to the cult than the hierophant. This is in accord with the theory that the Eumolpidae were associated with the cult before the incorporation of Eleusis into the Athenian state and that it was only from that time that the Kerykes were joined with them in the cult, in the expectation that the old Athenian *γένος* of the Kerykes would contribute, by their association, in bringing the Eleusinian cult more securely into the religious life of the Athenian

⁹ Against Ctesiphon, 18 (ed. Blass). He introduces this example of the audit as ἐπὶ τῶν παραδόξων.

¹⁰ P. 14, n. 19.

¹¹ See above, p. 8.

¹² See above, pp. 14-15, 17-18, 35, 50.

¹³ S.E.G., X, 24, lines 28-30, states that the *epistatai* must consult with "the priests" concerning expenditures.

¹⁴ See above, p. 13.

¹⁵ See the text above, pp. 10-11.

¹⁶ See the text above, pp. 50-52.

¹⁷ See above, p. 77, n. 8.

¹⁸ Discussed above, pp. 35-36.

¹⁹ The *pyrphoros* follows the sacred herald and altar-priest also in the *aeisitoi* lists. His special prominence in 20/19 may have been due more to the prestige of the incumbent at that time or to the fact that he held other priesthoods as well (of the Charites and Artemis Epipyrgidia); see above, p. 94.

state.²⁰ It should also be noted that none of the Kerykes' priests had functions that were essential to the cult, nor were the Kerykes specifically entrusted with maintaining and interpreting the traditions of the cult as the Eumolpidae and their exegetes were.

EUMOLPID PRIESTHOODS

Secure evidence is lacking concerning which priests of the cult besides the hierophant and exegetes were Eumolpidae.²¹ I think that we can be fairly certain that the *phaidyntes* was a Eumolpid, although no individual incumbents are attested.²² The priest of Triptolemus, the priest of the God and Goddess, and the *Iakchagogos* probably also were Eumolpids, since they are not included in the (probably) complete list of Kerykes' priests from the year 20/19.

It may well have been a Eumolpid priesthood which Valerius Mamertinus resigned in 174/5 when he improperly switched *genos* from the Eumolpidae to the Kerykes in order to be elected sacred herald; Marcus Aurelius's ruling against him reads: "Mamertinus shall not be removed from the number of the Eumolpidae, and he shall recover his priesthood."²³ Since the sacred herald was allowed to hold other Athenian priesthoods *not belonging to a genos*, the priesthood which Mamertinus gave up and recovered was probably a minor Eumolpid priesthood. On the other hand, there may have been a law at this time which forbade holding two priesthoods simultaneously (see above, p. 68).

EMOLUMENTS

Specific emoluments are known only for the priestess of Demeter and Kore, the altar-priest, sacred herald, and *παναγής*, from a law of ca. 460 B.C. The Eleusinian Endowment of 160-170 A.D., which must

be regarded as a non-ordinary source of funds, lists double shares for several priests and priestesses. For emoluments for the priests and priestesses as a group see the section headed Emoluments at the end of chapter I.

DRESS

The dress of the hierophant, daduch, and hearth-initiate has been treated above.²⁴ Common to all priests and priestesses, as a statement of Ister indicates,²⁵ is the myrtle wreath. The *strophion* is attested only for the hierophant, daduch, and priest of the God and Goddess, but we may safely assume that this object, which was worn by priests in general, was also worn by the other priests of the Mysteries.

CHASTITY DURING FESTIVAL

The hierophant was certainly required to be chaste during the festival,²⁶ and it may be that all the other priests and priestesses also remained chaste if this is the way we are to interpret a statement of Julian²⁷: οὕτω δὲ καὶ παρὰ Ἀθηναίοις οἱ τῶν ἀρρήτων ἀπτόμενοι παναγείς εἰσι, καὶ ὁ τούτων ἐξάρχων ἱεροφάντης ἀπέστραπται πᾶσαν τὴν γένεσιν.

EIRESIONE

A grave epigram of the second century A.D. or later seems to refer to the Eumolpid priests²⁸:

καὶ γὰρ μ'Εὐμ[όλποιο] θνηπόλοι εἰρεσιώνην
10 [ἔ]ξαντες [μεγάλην ὦ]πασαν εὐκλείην·
στέμμα δέ [μοι πλέξαντο] Διονύσου θιασῶται,
πυρφόρ[ου] ἐ[ν] Διούς μυστικὰ τ' ἐξέτελουν.

The restorations of lines 9 and 12, however, are not certain.²⁹

²⁰ Foucart outlines this theory in *Mystères* (1914: pp. 156-158). Toepffer (1889: p. 82) believes that the Kerykes always were closely associated with the cult.

²¹ The exegetes could hold other priesthoods, but the only evidence of this is from the Roman period when there is barely a sign that they had any serious duties as exegetes, and there is some doubt anyway whether in the Classical period they were considered priests.

²² See above, p. 65.

²³ Oliver, 1970: p. 4, lines 13-14; cf. below, append. IV, pp. 121-123.

²⁴ For the dress of the hierophant see above, pp. 32-33; the daduch, pp. 32-33, 48; the hearth-initiate, pp. 101-108.

²⁵ See above.

²⁶ See above, pp. 44-45.

²⁷ *Oratio* V, 173c-d (ed. Hertlein).

²⁸ *I.G.*, II², 11674, lines 9-12 (= Peek, *Griechische Vers-Inschriften* [Berlin, 1955], 1029).

²⁹ Cf. the comments of Nilsson, *Dionysiac Mysteries of the Hellenistic and Roman Age* (Lund, 1957), p. 49, n. 21.

APPENDIX

I. LISTS OF PRIESTS AND PRIESTESSES IN CHAPTERS I–V

The dates given here for each priest and priestess are only a summary; for precise information the reader should consult the respective prosopographical accounts above. The number of a priest is in bold type if there is some probability that he directly succeeded the previous entry.

A list of exegetes of the Eumolpidae is given above, p. 92.

HIEROPHANTS

	Date	Page
1. Ζάκορος	<i>Ca.</i> beginning of fifth century B.C.	10
2. Θεόδωρος	From 415 or earlier to 408 or later	16
3. Ἀρχίας	379	16
4. Λακρατείδης	Shortly before 353 to 350/49 or later	17
5. Ἱεροκλείδης Τεισαμενοῦ Παιανιεύς	<i>Ca.</i> middle of fourth century	18
6. [–]οττος	In 336/5–333/2	20
7. Εὐρυμέδων	323	21
8. Εὐρυκλείδης	In 317–307	21
9. Ἱεροφάντης Νουφράδου Περιβοΐδης	<i>Ca.</i> end of fourth century	22
10. Χαιρήτιος Προφήτου Ἐλευσίνιος	<i>Ca.</i> 248/7	23
11. Ἀριστοκλῆς Περιβοΐδης	183/2 to 148/7 or later	24
12. Ἀμυνόμαχος Εὐκλέους Ἀλαιεύς	Early third quarter of second century	27
13. Μενεκλείδης Θεοφῆμου Κυδαθηναίεύς	Last quarter of second century	28
14. Ἱεροφάντης Εὐστρόφου Πειραιεύς	Last quarter of second century	28
15. Θεόφημος Μενεκλείδου Κυδαθηναίεύς	<i>Ca.</i> end of second century	28
16. Ἱεροφάντης	86/5	29
17. Ἱεροφάντης	<i>Ca.</i> middle of first century A.D.	29
18. Τιβ Κλ Οινόφιλος Καλλικρατίδου Τρικορύσιος	<i>Ca.</i> end of first century	29
19. [Ἰού]λιος Ἱεροφ[ά]ντης	<i>Ca.</i> end of first century?	30
20. Τ Φλάβιος Στράτων Παιανιεύς	<i>Ca.</i> end of first quarter of second century	30
21. Φίρμος Γαργήτιος	<i>Ca.</i> middle of second century?	31
22. Ἱεροφάντης Δ Ἰού[. . .] Πειραιεύς	<i>Ca.</i> middle of second century?	32
23. Ἱεροφάντης Ἀγνοΐσιος	<i>Ca.</i> 138–150	32
24. Τ Φλάβιος Λεωσθένης Παιανιεύς	From sometime in 138–161 to 167/8	36
25. Ἰούλιος Ἱεροφάντης	168/9 to 191 or 192 or slightly later	38
26. Τιβ Κλαύδιος Ἀπολλινάριος Ἀχαρνεύς	191 or 192 (or later) to 193/4	39
27. Νούμμιος Ἱεροφάντης Φαληρεὺς	194/5 to before 209/10	40
28. Κλ Ἱεροφάντης Μαραθώνιος νεώτερος	209/10	40
29. Ἀπολλώνιος Ἀπολλωνίου	<i>Ca.</i> 215	40
30. Ἡρακλείδης	<i>Ca.</i> 220–30	42
31. Δόγιμος	<i>Ca.</i> 220–30	42
32. Τ Φλάβιος Γλαῦκος Μαραθώνιος	<i>Ca.</i> 225–235	42
33. Perhaps same as no. 29		42
34. Ἐρώτιος	After <i>ca.</i> 235	42
35. Ἱεροφάντης Ξεναγόρου	First half of fourth century	43
36. Νεστόριος	Before 355 to shortly before 392	43

DADUCHS

1. Καλλίας (II) Ἱππονίκου (I) Ἀλωπεκῆθεν	From 490 or earlier to 446/5 or later	47
2. Καλλίας (III) Ἱππονίκου (II) Ἀλωπεκῆθεν	Before 400 to 371 or later	49
3. Ἱεροκλείδης	350/49	50
4. Πυθόδωρος	302	50
5. Ἐρμότιμος	Before end of third century	53

	Date	Page
6. Ἱεροκλείδης	Before end of third century	53
7. Λέοντιος Ἀχαρνεύς	Ca. 200	53
8. Ἀντιφῶν	Ca. 200	53
9. Φιλιστίδης Ἀγνούσιος	Early second century	54
10. Σοφοκλῆς Λεοντίου Ἀχαρνεύς	First half of second century	54
11. Φιλοξενίδης Φιλιστίδου Ἀγνούσιος	Third quarter of second century	54
12. Ξενοκλῆς Σοφοκλέους Ἀχαρνεύς	Last quarter of second century	54
13. Σοφοκλῆς Ξενοκλέους Ἀχαρνεύς	First quarter of first century	54
14. Θεμιστοκλῆς Θεοφράστου Ἀγνούσιος	Ca. 75 B.C.	55
15. Θεόφραστος Θεμιστοκλέους Ἀγνούσιος	Second quarter of first century	55
16. Θεμιστοκλῆς Θεοφράστου Ἀγνούσιος	Second half of first century to 20/19 or later	56
17. Θεόφραστος Θεμιστοκλέους Ἀγνούσιος	Ca. end of first century B.C.	57
18. Τιβ Κλαύδιος Λεωνίδης Μελιτεὺς	Second half of first century A.D.	57
19. Τιβ Κλ Λυσιάδης Τιβ Κλ Λεωνίδου Μελιτεὺς	Ca. 100–130	59
20. Τιβ Κλ Σῶσπις Τιβ Κλ Λυσιάδου Μελιτεὺς	Ca. 130–150	59
21. Πομ(πήιος?) Δαδοῦχος	Ca. 150–60 to 169/70 or later	59
22. Πό Αἴλιος Διονύσιος Ἀντινοεὺς	Ca. 174/5 to ca. 180–5	60
23. Αἴλιος Πραξαγόρας Θεμιστοκλέους Μελιτεὺς	Ca. 180–5 to 191 or 192	61
24. Τιβ Κλαύδιος Φίλιππος Τιβ Κλ Δημοστράτου Μελιτεὺς	191 or 192 to ca. 197	63
25. Πομπήιος Δαδοῦχος	Ca. 197 to before 208/9	63
26. Φάβιος Μαραθώνιος	From 208/9 or earlier to 209/10 or later	63
27. Δαμοτέλης	Third century	64
28. Θισβιανός	Third century	64
29. Αἰράριος Σωσίπατρος	Ca. end of third century	64
30. Μᾶρ Ἰούνιος Νικαγόρας Μινουκιανού	From 304 or earlier to 326 or later	64
31. Φλάβιος Πομ Δαδοῦχος	Sometime after 372 A.D.	66

PRIESTESSES OF DEMETER AND KORE

1. Λυσιστράτη	Ca. middle of fifth century	69
2. Θεανώ Μένωνος Ἀγρυλλῆθεν θυγάτηρ	415	70
3. Mother of Epigenes of Acharnae	Before middle of fourth century	70
4. Ἀπολλωνίου θυγάτηρ	Ca. 200 B.C.	72
5. Γλαῦκη Μενεδήμου Κυδαθηναίως θυγάτηρ	Ca. end of second century B.C.	72
6. Ἀμεινόκλεια Φιλάνθου Φυλασίου θυγάτηρ	Second half of second century or beginning of first century	72
7. Χάριον Διονυσίου Μαραθωνίου θυγάτηρ	Second or first century B.C.	73
8. Κλεοκράτη Οἰνοφίλου Ἀφιδναίου θυγάτηρ	Middle of first century B.C.	73
9. Κλεώ Εὐκλέους Φλυέως θυγάτηρ, γόνυ δὲ Νικοδήμου Ἑρμείου	From sometime in 41–54 to ca. 70 A.D.	73
10. Φλαουία Λαοδάμεια Κλείτου Φλυέως θυγάτηρ	End of first century to ca. 125	74
11. Κλαυδία Τειμοθέα Γαργηττίου θυγάτηρ	During reign of Hadrian	74
12. Κλαυδία Τατάριον Μενάνδρου Γαργηττίου θυγάτηρ	First or second century A.D.	74
13. [---]αμας τῆς [---] θυγατρός]	First or second century A.D.	74
14. Διώνη	First or second century A.D.	74
15. [---]νη ἐκ Χολλειδῶν	Second century?	74
16. Αἰλία Ἐπίλαμψις Αἰλ Γέλωτος Φαληρέως θυγάτηρ	Ca. end of second century	75
17. Ἰθάκη	Roman period	75
18. Daughter of Epigonus of Syppalletos (?)	No date	75

SACRED HERALDS

1. Κλεόκριτος	403	77
2. Διονύσιος Δημοστράτου Παιανιεύς	20/19	77
3. Τ Κωπώνιος Μάξιμος Ἀγνούσιος	Before 117/8 to 119/20 or later	78
4. Λούκιος Νούμμιος Νιγρεῖνος Γαργηττίος	Before 166/7	78
5. Πεινάριος Ἱεροκῆρυξ	From 166/7 or earlier to 174/5	79
6. Πό Ἑρένιος Ἱεροκῆρυξ Ἀπολλωνίου Ἑρμείου	174/5 to ca. 192	79
7. Νούμμιος Ἱεροκῆρυξ	Ca. 194 to ca. 197 or later	79

	Date	Page
8. Ἐρέννιος Ἱεροκῆρυξ Ἑρμείος	209/10	79
9. Ἰούλιος Ἱεροκῆρυξ Ἰουλίου Μουσωνίου (Στειριεύς)	Ca. 225	79
10. Κασσιανὸς Ἱεροκῆρυξ Στειριεύς	230/1	80
11. Mār Ἰούνιος Νικαγόρας Μνησαίου	Before 238 to 244-249	80

ALTAR-PRIESTS

1. Σήμων	Before end of third century B.C.	82
2. Ἱεροκλείδης	Before end of third century B.C.	82
3. Ἀντιφῶν	Before end of third century B.C.	82
4. Ἀντιφῶν	Ca. end of third century B.C.	82
5. Φιλιστίδης Ἀγνούσιος	Ca. beginning of second century	82
6. Φιλοξενίδης Φιλιστίδου Ἀγνούσιος	First half of second century	82
7. Κηφισόδωρος Φιλιστίδου Ἀγνούσιος	Ca. middle of second century	82
8. Λέοντιος Σοφοκλέους Ἀχαρνέως	Second half of second century	82
9. Σοφοκλῆς Λεοντίου Ἀχαρνέως	Ca. beginning of first century B.C.	83
10. Ἐπικράτης Καλλιμάχου Λευκοσοεύς	From 20/19 or earlier to 14/3 or later	83
11. Τ Φλάβιος Στράτων Παιανιεύς	First quarter of second century A.D.	83
12. Α Μέμμιος Ἐπὶ Βωμῶν Θορίκιος	From sometime in 121-124 to 191 or 192	83
13. Τιβ Κλαύδιος Σῶσπις Τιβ Κλ Λυσιάδου Μελιτεύς	From 191 or 192 to 209/10 or later	85
14. Τ Φλάβιος Ἐπὶ Βωμῶν	Early third century, after 209/10	85

HIEROPHANTIDS

1. Ἱερόφαντις Ἀμφίου Φιλιάδου θυγάτηρ	Augustan?	86
2. Ἱερόφαντις Μοσ[χ---]αμίου Ἀφιδναίου θυγάτηρ	Augustan?	86
3. Ἱερόφαντις	First century A.D.?	86
4. Ἱερόφαντις νεωτέρας Περικλέους ἐξ Οἴου θυγάτηρ	Ca. end of first century	87
5. Ἱερόφαντις Φλαβία [...]κράτεια	Ca. beginning of second century	87
6. θυγάτηρ Δημητρίου	From 112/3 or earlier to the reign of Hadrian or later	87
7. Ἱερόφαντις τῆς νεωτέρας Κλαυδία Φιλόξενα Τιβ Κλ Πάτρωνος Μελιτέως θυγάτηρ	During reign of Hadrian	87
8. Ἱερόφαντις	After 126/7	87
9. Ἰουνία Μελιτίνη Ἰουνίου Πάτρωνος Βερενικίδου θυγάτηρ	Ca. middle of second century	87
10. Ἰσιδότη Ἰσαίου θυγάτηρ	176	88
11. Ποπλία Αἰλία Ἐρεννία	Ca. end of second century A.D.	88

II. I.G., II², 1045 (= S.E.G., III, 104).

The stone is now in Leningrad in the Hermitage. The following text has been made from a photograph in the files of the Agora Excavations of the American School of Classical Studies (fig. 15). The stone has no preserved edges. At its left edge it has been cut in an even vertical line. The margins of the present text are merely hypothetical.

[-----]
 [--] ἐπαινέ[σαι] ----- ὅπως ἂν
 [οὖν ἐφ]άμιλλον εἰ πᾶ[σιν φιλοτιμεῖσθαι εἰς Εὐμολπίδας
 εἰδόσιν ὅτι]
 [χάριτ]ας ἀξίας κομ[ιῶνται]-----
 [-- φιλ]οδόξῃσιν, [ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ δεδόχθαι Εὐμολπίδαις
 ἐπαινέσαι]

5 [τὸν ἱερ]οφάντην Ἀρισ[τοκλέα Περιθοίδην]-----
 [καὶ στε]φανῶσαι μυρρίνη[ς στεφάνωι εὐσεβείας ἔνεκα τῆς
 εἰς τὸ γένος]
 [καὶ τῇ]ς πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς [-----]
 [-- τ]ὴν συναγωγὴν Α[-----]
 [--] Ἀριστοκλέους καὶ τ[-----]
 10 [θυσίας] τὰς τεῖ Δημητρί κα[ὶ τεῖ Κόρη]-----
 [--] συναχθέντος τοῦ δ[-----]
 [τὴν ἱε]ροφαντείαν· ἵνα δὲ [-----] φαίνη
 [ται τ]ὸ γένος εὐχάριστο[ν, ----- ἀναγράψαι τόδε τὸ
 ψήφισμα]
 [εἰς στ]ήλας λιθίνας τρεῖς [καὶ στῆσαι τὴν μέν -----,
 τὴν δὲ ἐν]
 15 [τῷ Ἐλ]εγσινίωι τῷ ἐν ἄ[στει, τὴν δὲ]-----
 [-----] τοὺς [-----]
 [-----]

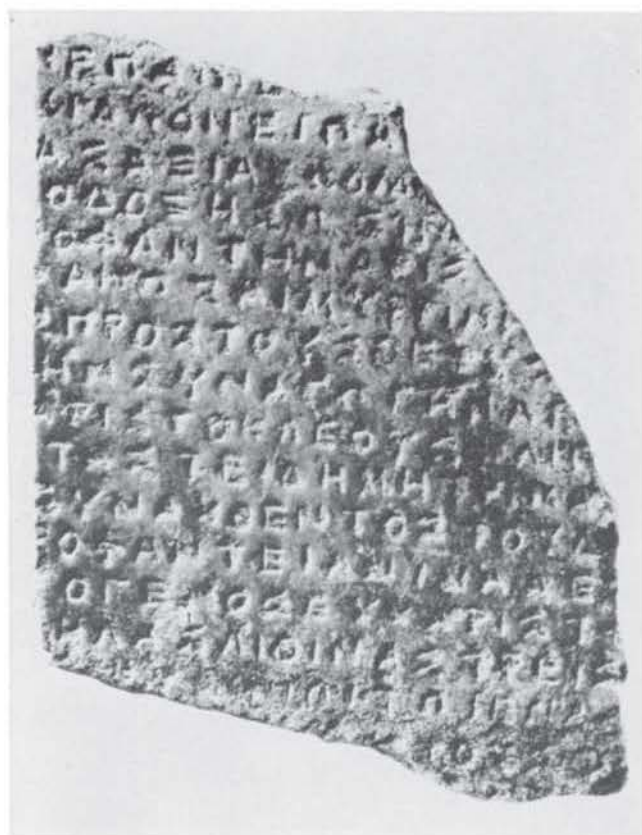


FIG. 15. S.E.G., III, 104. Courtesy of Hermitage.

A *genos* (line 13) issued this decree, and the myrtle crown points immediately to the Eumolpidae or Kerykes. One copy of the decree was set up in the city Eleusinion, another probably in the sanctuary at Eleusis, but a third copy is unusual. If for some reason they held the meeting at which this decree was passed in an unusual meeting-place, it would be perfectly in order for them to set up one copy there and the other two in the places where they usually set up decrees, namely in the sanctuary at Eleusis and in the city Eleusinion. The meeting-place of the Eumolpidae at the time that they passed the decree honoring Aristocles (see above, hierophant no. 11) was certainly an unusual one: ἐν [. . .^{ca. 6} . . .] νδλωι thus far has defied restoration. The additional fact that in all probability both decrees honored Aristocles of Perithoidai lends support to the hypothesis that these two inscriptions are copies of the same decree. On the other hand, there are some difficulties. The lettering of I.G., II², 1045 appears to be by another hand, and the length of the lines differs by about twenty letters. Although the difficulties by no means preclude this hypothesis, it is quite conceivable that in the long period of Aristocles' incumbency the Eumolpidae could have met in the [. . .^{ca. 6} . . .] νδλωι several times and honored Aristocles on more than one occasion.

The restorations assume that this is a decree of the Eumolpidae. The restorations of lines 6-7 (ἐὐσεβείας κτλ.) and of line 9 (φαίνηται) are *exempli gratia*.

III. ON THE ARRANGEMENT OF THE PROHEDRIA IN THE THEATER OF DIONYSUS

Because Kirchner did not have Fiechter's completed study¹ of the prohedria seats when he was editing the inscriptions of the seats in I.G., II², 5022-5079, his information concerning which seats are *in situ* is incomplete and consequently misleading.² Fiechter describes the general arrangement of the first row of the prohedria as follows:³

Vor jedem Keil des Sitzraumes steht eine Gruppe von fünf Sesseln; nur im Keil I und XIII sind es je 6 Sesseln: Während die ganze westliche Hälfte der Sesselreihe verhältnismässig gut erhalten ist, sind in der östlichen Hälfte von Keil VIII bis XIII Lücken und Störungen. Die Fünfer-Gruppen bestehen jeweils aus zwei Marmorblöcken zu je drei und je zwei Sesseln. Sie sind regelmässig so angeordnet, dass zu einer Treppe die Zweisitzsteine, zur nächsten die Dreisitzsteine gegengleich stehen. Diese Anordnung gilt nur für die Keile II-V. In Keil VI besteht Fünfer-Gruppen aus zwei Zweisitz- und einem mittleren Einsitzstein; auch in den gestörten Sesselreihen in den Keilen VIII-XII war die gleiche Einteilung.

In *cunei* VIII-XIII the arrangement of the seats (with Fiechter's numbering) is as follows:

Cuneus VIII	36	} None <i>in situ</i>
	37	
	38	
	39	
	40	
Cuneus IX	41	} None <i>in situ</i>
	42	
	43	
	44	
	45	
Cuneus X	46	} Double seat <i>in situ</i>
	47	
	48	} Single seat <i>in situ</i>
	49	
	50	} Double seat <i>in situ</i>
Cuneus XI	51	
	52	} Double seat
	53	
	54	} Double seat
	55	

¹ E. Fiechter, *Das Dionysos-Theater in Athen* (4 v., Stuttgart, 1935-1950) 1: pp. 62-75; 4: pp. 11-16. Cf. O. A. W. Dilke, *B.S.A.* 43 (1948): p. 178.

² A valuable, full study of the prohedria appeared just as the manuscript of this appendix was going to press: Michael Maass, *Die Prohedrie des Dionysostheaters in Athen* (Munich, 1972). Maass's remarks on the arrangement of seats in the first row are essentially in agreement with my own.

³ Fiechter, *op. cit.* 1: p. 64; and now see also Maass, *op. cit.*

<i>Cuneus</i> XII	56	Missing	
	57	Missing	
	58	Missing	
	59	ιερέως Ἰακχαγωγού	
	60	ιερέως Ἀσκληπιοῦ Π[αι]ῶνος (?)	
<i>Cuneus</i> XIII	61	ιερέως πυρφόρου ἐξ ἀκροπόλεως	} Triple seat in situ
	62	ιερέως Δήμου καὶ Χαρίτων καὶ Ῥώμης	
	63	κήρυκος παναγοῦς καὶ ιερέως	
	64	Missing	
	65	Missing	
	66	Missing	

In positions 43–44 of *cuneus* IX there stands now a badly damaged double seat with the inscriptions [ἄρχον]τος and (now missing) βασιλέως; in position 45 there is a single middle seat with the inscription πολεμάρχου. The following arrangement, then, would be logical and natural for this *cuneus*:

41	[ἄρχον]τος	} Double seat
42	βασιλέως	
43	πολεμάρχου	Single seat
44	[θεσμοθέτου]	} Double seat
45	[θεσμοθέτου]	

The four other thesmothetes follow in *cuneus* X and are followed by the sacred herald.

Next we are faced with the problem of determining the positions of three double seats which have been removed to positions above the prohedria. They are:

δαδούχου	} Left side faced an aisle
ιερέως Ἀπόλλωνος Πυθίου	
στρατηγού	} Right side faced an aisle
κήρυκος	
Διογένους Εὐεργέτου	} Left side faced an aisle
ιερέως Ἀττάλου ἐπωνύμου	

The best position for the daduch and the priest of Pythian Apollo would seem to be the first two seats in *cuneus* VIII, where Fiechter puts them; this would make the daduch and the hierophant equidistant to the right and left from the throne of the priest of Dionysus. Then the seats presently occupying positions 36–38 should probably be shifted to 38–40, which is in accord with their physical characteristics as being respectively a middle seat and a double seat whose right side faced an aisle. The seats in *cuneus* VIII would be arranged as follows:

36	δαδούχου	} Double Seat
37	ιερέως Ἀπόλλωνος Πυθίου	
38	ιερομνήμονος	Single Seat
39	ιερέως καὶ ἀρχιερέως Σεβαστοῦ Καίσαρος	} Double Seat
40	ιερέως Ἀδριανοῦ Ἐλευθεραίων	

The original positions of the double seat Διογένους Εὐεργέτου and ιερέως Ἀττάλου ἐπωνύμου and the double seat of the hoplite general and herald have now been

clarified by Maass as not belonging to the first row of the prohedria.⁴

It is clear, therefore, that there will be three seats remaining in the first row for three possible exegetes of the Eumolpidae if they sat in the first row of the prohedria. There will also be a position available for the altar-priest. Thus the prohedria offers no conclusive evidence as to whether the exegetes of the Eumolpidae numbered two or three.

IV. THE AEISITOI LISTS

A new table of the chronologically important *aeisitoi* lists between 165 and 210 A.D. is presented here (table 2). It differs only in a few respects from the table compiled by Oliver (*H.Th.R.* 43 [1950]: p. 234), but an attempt has been made to give a more detailed picture of what the inscriptions show concerning the five Eleusinian priests who appear in them (the non-Eleusinian officials have been omitted since none are changed).¹ The order of their appearance in relation to one another in each list is indicated by means of a number after their name. If the part of the list in which they appeared is not preserved so that their order cannot be determined, the letters *NP* ("not preserved") are used. If their names are not preserved but their position can still be determined, brackets followed by a number are used. Asterisks indicate differences from Oliver's table. The letter *N* next to a date indicates agreement with Notopoulos's table, *Hesperia* 18 (1949): pp. 1–57, table 1.

If the interpretation suggested above, p. 60, is correct, that Aelius Dionysius, the defendant in a case decided by Marcus Aurelius in 174/5, was the daduch at that time, the hitherto accepted date of 178/9 for *I.G.*, II², 1789 is suspect. It is a bit unsettling to see a Pompeius daduch in 169/70, Aelius Dionysius confirmed in his office in 174/5 by Marcus Aurelius, and another Pompeius already in office in 178/9. This would mean a rather short tenure for Aelius Dionysius, and it is striking that he is both preceded and followed by a Pompeius. The sacred herald Nummius adds to the suspicion. *I.G.*, II², 1789 is the only piece of evidence for a sacred herald of this nomen between the heralds Pinarius and Herennius, whereas there is a good deal of evidence that a Nummius, viz., Nigrinus of Gargettos, was sacred herald before 166/7², and evidence that another Nummius was sacred herald starting around 194.³

⁴ Maass, *op. cit.*, p. 139.

¹ For a more accurate treatment of the non-Eleusinian officials in these lists one should consult the table of *aeisitoi* lists compiled by B. D. Meritt and J. S. Traill which will appear in their volume of the prytany inscriptions found in the Agora. I am very grateful to them for showing me their table before its publication. Their study of the non-Eleusinian officials has necessitated a new arrangement of some lists, but not lists with Eleusinian priests.

² Sacred herald no. 5; see above, p. 79.

³ Sacred herald no. 8; see above, p. 79.

TABLE 2. ELEUSINIAN PRIESTS IN THE AEISITOI LISTS

Date	Inscription	Hierophant	Daduch	Sacred her.	Altar-priest	<i>Pyrrhophos</i>	Comment
ca. 164 shortly before	Hesp. XII, No. 23	NP	NP	NP	NP	NP	Below, p. 122
165 N	IG II ² 1769	[----] 1	[----] 3	[----] 2	absent	absent	
166/7 N	IG II ² 1773	Flavius 1	Pom 2	Pinarius 3	absent	absent	
167/8 N	IG II ² 1774	Flavius 1	Pom 2	Pinarius 3	absent	absent	
168/9 N	Hesp. XI, No. 18	[----] 1	[----] 3?	[----] 2	absent	absent	Below, p. 123
168/9 N	IG II ² 1775	Julius 1	Pom 2	Pinarius 3	Memmius 4	absent	
169/70 N	IG II ² 1776, 1781	Julius 1	Pom 2	Pinarius 3	Memmius 4	absent	
	Hesp. XI, No. 1	NP	NP	NP	NP	NP	
173/4 N	Hesp. III, No. 43	NP	NP	NP	NP*	NP	
174/5* N (or 187/8)	IG II ² 1788	Julius 1	Aelius 2	Herennius 3	Memmius 4	NP	Below, pp. 122-123
ca. 180	IG II ² 1794	Julius 1	[----] 2	absent	Memmius 3	absent	
ca. 180	IG II ² 1782	Julius 1	Aelius 2	Herennius 3	NP	NP	Above, p. 79, note 25
ca. 181	IG II ² 1795	[----] 1	absent	[----] 2	[----] 3	absent	
182/3 N	Hesp. IV, No. 11	Julius 1	absent	absent	Memmius 2	absent	
ca. 186	Hesp. XI, No. 6	NP	NP	Herennius*	NP	NP	Above, p. 79
186/7 N	IG II ² 1796	[----] 1	[----] 2	[----] 3	[----] 4	[----] 5	
188/9	Hesp. XI, No. 23, etc.	NP	NP	NP	NP	NP	
190/1	IG II ² 1798	Julius 1	Aelius 2	Herennius 3	Memmius 4	absent	
ca. 191	IG II ² 1797	[----] 1	[----] 2	[----] 3	absent	absent	
191/2 N	Hesp., XI, No. 5	NP	NP	NP	NP	Α[Α] ?	
191* or 192	IG II ² 1792, etc.	Julius 1	Aelius 2	Herennius 3	Claudius 4	Aelius 5 (Hesp. XI, No. 4)	Above, p. 38, note 200
ca. 194	IG II ² 1806	Nummius 1	Claudius 2	Nummius 3	absent	absent	
195/6 N	IG II ² 1806a	unident. 1	unident. 3	unident. 2	absent	absent	
ca. 197	IG II ² 1790 etc.	Nummius 1	Pompeius 3	Nummius 2	absent	absent	Above, p. 40
ca. 198	IG II ² 1799	NP	NP	NP	NP	NP	
198/9	Hesp. XI, No. 36	NP	NP	NP	NP	NP	
204/5*	IG II ² 1789	[Num]mius 1	[Pomp]eijs 3	Nummius 2	absent	absent	Below, p. 122
209/10 N	IG II ² 1077	Claudius 1	Fabius 2	Herennius 3	Claudius 4	Aurelius 5	

Thus one position for *I.G.*, II², 1789 more in harmony with this information would be 165/6. But there are two immediate obstacles. First, according to Notopoulos⁴ there was a different prytany-secretary in 165/6: for the secretary in *Hesperia* 12 (1943) no. 23, p. 77 (dated by him to 165/6) he presents a reading (of Mitsos): .τ(or .π)[^{ca. 4}]πος Σφῆττ(ος). When I looked at the stone in the summer of 1969, Raubitschek's original reading, Π[απ]^{ca. 4}]πος) Σ[^{ca. 5}], appeared to be much preferable, except that the first letter of the demotic should be dotted; no more letters could be read after this; the surface is completely destroyed at this point as is apparent in Raubitschek's photograph of the squeeze. Therefore, the date of this document can only be approximate, that is, ca. 164. The other objection to 165/6 as the year of *I.G.*, II², 1789, is the name of the hierophant, [Ἰού]λιος; for Flavius Leosthenes was hierophant at this time. However, the transcript Boeckh⁵ had of this inscription showed nothing before ΙΟΣ in the first line; Pittakys had \ΙΟΣ in his copy, but since he, often unreliable anyway, made other wild errors in the same copy,⁶ one is tempted to discount his alleged stroke of a lambda. On the other hand, since the stroke could reflect part of a mu, which yields the read-

ing [Νού]μιος, the year 204/5 appears to be the best choice; it fits the tribal cycle, and the table shows that a Pompeius and Nummius were respectively daduch and sacred herald not long before this (ca. 197) and could have continued to be in 204/5.

We are now free to re-examine the position of *I.G.*, II², 1788. Its traditional date has been ca. 174/5, and Notopoulos assigned it definitely to 174/5. Oliver moved it to 187/8, apparently in a desire to put its daduch, Aelius, and its sacred herald, Herennius, close to the men of the same gentilicia mentioned in *I.G.*, II², 1798 of 190/1. But if we accept Notopoulos's date for *I.G.*, II², 1788, the *aeisitoi* list of this document will be in complete accord with our transfer of *I.G.*, II², 1789 to 204/5. The daduch Aelius of 1788 will then be Aelius Dionysius, interpreted above, p. 60, as the daduch mentioned in Marcus Aurelius's decision of 174/5; and the *aeisitoi* list of 1788 can also be interpreted as reflecting another of Marcus's decisions of that year, one which pertained to the candidacy of a man seeking the office of sacred herald:

Since Mamertinus, who is a Eumolpid, obtained neither of his parents from the clan of the Ceryces, so lacks the only means by which it has been permitted to those from either of these [two] clans to transfer to the other, he shall refrain from seeking the office of sacred herald. The elections shall be held all over again among the others, both those who have already gone to court and those who

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 13.

⁵ *C.I.G.*, 188b.

⁶ Cf. Dittenberger, *I.G.*, III, 1038.

will now wish to be candidates, in accord with the laws of the Athenians.⁷

The elections were then held for a second time, and *I.G.*, II², 1788, if it belongs to this year, shows that a Herennius won, who was, interestingly enough, not among those who brought suit against Mamertinus. The elections will therefore have been held sometime before the ninth prytany, when Herennius was already in office.⁸ On the other hand, none of Graindor's original arguments which led him quite reasonably to be the first to propose "ca. 174" as the date of this document⁹ appears to be strong enough to preclude a date of 187/8. Thus 174/5 must be regarded as tentative. At any rate, since we do know that an election for the *hierokerykeia* must have been held shortly after receipt of Marcus's letter in 174/5, it is reasonable to assume, in the absence of evidence for any other sacred herald around this time, that this was the year in which Herennius assumed this priesthood.

One other aspect of the *aeisitoi* lists to which I would like to call attention is the occasional anomaly in the order of the priests in relation to one another. First, a slightly improved text of lines 1-5 of *Hesperia* 11 (1942): p. 50, no. 18, should be given:

[Ιού 'Ιεροφάν]τ[ης]
[Πειν 'Ιεροκ]ῆρυξ
[-----]
4 [κῆρυξ βουλ]ῆς καὶ δήμου
[Πάπιος 'Ατ]τικὸς Βησαιεύς.

Here the sacred herald precedes probably the daduch, although it is of course possible that the daduch is missing and that the herald in fact precedes the altar-priest. The normal order for the Eleusinian priests in the *aeisitoi* lists is: hierophant, daduch, sacred herald, altar-priest. The reason for the occasional anomalies and absences is not immediately clear, but a comparison with the order of the other *aeisitoi* listed in Notopoulos's table I may shed some light. These are, in relation to one another,¹⁰ normally listed as follows: herald of the Boule and Demos, secretary of the Boule and Demos, prytany-secretary (*περὶ τὸ βῆμα*), *antigraphus*, *hieraulus*, ἐπὶ Σκιᾶδος, subsecretary, and occasionally a secretary of the *bouleutai*.¹¹ Deviations from this order are usually minor: the *antigraphus* sometimes changes positions with the prytany-secretary; the *hieraulus* with the ἐπὶ Σκιᾶδος; and the ἐπὶ Σκιᾶδος with the subsecretary. Sometimes

the subsecretary is omitted,¹² and this is comparable to the occasional omission of the altar-priest; in each case it is a matter of the one of the least prestigious officials of the group.¹³ More serious deviations and absences in the second group occur in inscriptions which are not well preserved or whose edition may be incomplete; inspection or further information may show that the traditional order holds true in these documents also.¹⁴ Thus it cannot be said for certain

¹² Possibly in *I.G.*, II², 1790 (my squeeze seems to show uncertain traces of writing below the last line); apparently in *I.G.*, II², 1806; definitely in *Hesperia* 11 (1942): no. 5, p. 34. The subsecretary should be restored in two places. According to my squeeze, *I.G.*, II², 1796, lines 40-42, should read:

40 [γραμματεὺς] βουλευτῶν
[-----]
[ὑπογραμμα]τεὺς
[-----]

Hesperia 16 (1947): p. 182, no. 87, Face A, lines 1-7, should probably be edited as follows:

[Ιεραύ]λης
[Ἀφροδείσιος] Ἐπαφροδε[ί]τ[ι]
[του Παιανιεύ]ς
4 [ὑπογρα]μματεὺς
[Δη]μήτριος
[-----]είονος
[Γαργ]ήτιος.

Line 9 may contain a mention of the ἐπὶ Σκιᾶδος. Aphrodeisius Epaphrodeitus of Paiania was *hieraulus* from at least 173/4 to ca. 186; the otherwise unknown subsecretary Demetrius could have been in office in 183-186.

¹³ Similar is the case of the *pyrrhoros* and the secretary of the *bouleutai*, who appear even less frequently.

¹⁴ *I.G.*, II², 1789; 1796; 1797; 1806; *Hesperia* 11 (1942): no. 4, p. 33; *ibid.*, no. 36, p. 70. The last document appears to be very ineptly inscribed, and it may be futile to try to restore the proper ineptitude. I find Notopoulos's restorations (*op. cit.*, p. 17) convincing only for lines 10-11. [---]ῆμου in line 8 could be the end of a patronymic. The list in *I.G.*, II², 1815 presents an anomaly in lines 11-12. Geagan states (1967: p. 112) that there is only one possible resolution of the abbreviations in lines 11-12; he does not mention a different resolution offered by Oliver in *Hesperia* 11 (1942): p. 58. My squeeze of this stone indicates that the letters should be read as Γ^ΒΚ and Γ^ΒΔ and so the most probable resolution is Oliver's: γρ(αμματεὺς) βο(υλετῶν) Δ [---]nomen---. (I have been helped with this reading by a comparison also of the squeeze at Princeton, a description of which was kindly sent to me by John Traill.) Perhaps there was some special reason in this prytany for the appearance of the secretary of the *bouleutai* in this position. On my squeeze I can also make out the tip of the right oblique stroke of the upsilon in line 15, so as to read: ὑπ[ο]γραμματεὺς ---].

Geagan (*loc. cit.*) correctly identifies the γρ(αμματεὺς) at the end of *Hesperia* 11 (1942) no. 5, p. 34, as the γραμματεὺς βουλευτῶν, also identical with the γραμματεὺς πρυτάνεων. We can perhaps resolve the difficulties of *Hesperia* 11 (1942) no. 2, p. 32 in a similar manner, by interpreting the secretary in line 7 to be the secretary of the *bouleutai* and by reading in line 9, ἀν[τικῆρυξ], an official who appears only occasionally in the *aeisitoi* lists (in *I.G.*, II², 1077; in 1768, if my suggestion, above, p. 60, is correct; and in *Hesperia* 11 (1942) no. 6, p. 36, if Oliver's suggestion is correct) and in various positions (if the restorations are correct). In *I.G.*, II², 1808 there is space for three names between the hiero-

⁷ Oliver, 1970: p. 4, lines 9-13, and translation on p. 29.

⁸ Concerning this sacred herald, no. 7, see above, p. 79.

⁹ 1922: pp. 175-178.

¹⁰ The occasional occurrence of the ἀντικῆρυξ and the πυρφόρος between members of this list is omitted from consideration here.

¹¹ Cf. Geagan, 1967: pp. 103-112.

that the major officials of the second group, the herald of the Boule and Demos and the secretary of the Boule and Demos, ever change position, and in this respect they are similar to the hierophant.¹⁵ Other officials of the second group can change positions, and those who do change do so only with those who are otherwise just before or after them. A similar limitation holds true for the Eleusinian priests: only the daduch and sacred herald certainly change positions, while the altar-priest never appears as preceding any of them (although he is naturally in one of their positions when they are absent from a list).¹⁶ The occasional absences of the daduch and sacred herald still remain a puzzle.

V. *I.G.*, II², 3713 + 4089 + 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1897: col. 60, no. 42.

The latter fragment, located in the storeroom of the museum at Eleusis, is preserved only on its left side; at a distance of 0.023 m. from its left edge a vertical margin is engraved, which corresponds to the right margin on *I.G.*, II², 4089 with the same indentation.

[Κλ Μέναν]δραν
[Κλ Φιλίππ]ου τοῦ
[δαδουχ]ήσαντος
4 θυγα[τέρ]α καὶ Ἀ[ιλ]
Πραξα[γ]όρου τ[οῦ]
δα[δου]χ[ή]σα[ν]τος
[ἀπόγον]ον [τῇ]ν ἄφ'
8 [έστίας].

The text, line-division, letter-forms, and the spacing of the letters are exactly the same as in *I.G.*, II², 3693. The only differences between the two are very slight: the letters of our inscription are greater in height by half a centimeter, and our inscription has an engraved left margin. Thus it is very probable that lines 7–8 of our text should be restored to read as in 3693: τῇν ἄφ' έστίας. The similarity of the two inscriptions (which extends even to the use of the ligature Ν in lines 3 and 6) would seem to indicate that they were erected within a short time of one another. According to line 3 in both cases, their father Claudius Philippus the daduch was already dead. He either died before they became hearth-initiates, or the inscriptions were set up at a later time in their lives. The former alternative is favored by

phant and the secretary of the Boule and Demos; apparently they were intended to be inscribed but never were; the third of these names would have been the herald of the Boule and Demos.

¹⁵ *I.G.*, II², 1768, is an apparent exception, but see above, p. 60, for a possible solution.

¹⁶ Nor does the *pyrphoros* ever appear ahead of any other Eleusinian priest.

¹ For the corrected reading of this part of *I.G.*, II², 3693 see above, p. 111.

the consideration that Claudius Philippus served as daduch for only a short time.

VI. *I.G.*, II², 3475 + 3476.

Raubitschek (*A.J.A.* 49 [1945]: p. 435) suggested that these are parts of the same inscription. An examination of the stones shows that this is correct, though no join can be made. Kirchner mistakenly republished fragment *a* of 3475 as 3570.

The following new text can be made:

Διονύ[σιος] . . .^{ca. 8} . . .] 'Αλα[ιεύς]
Φιλίστιον [τῇ]ν ἑαυτ[οῦ] θυγα[τ]έρα
ἄφ' έστίας [μνηθεῖσα]ν ταῖν θ[ε]αῖν
4 ἐπὶ ἱερεί[ας] Γλαύκης τῇ]ς Μενεδήμου
Κυδαθ[ηναιεύς] θυγατ[ρ]ός.

Dionysius of Halai and his daughter Philistion are otherwise unknown.

VII. *I.G.*, II², 4075 + 4083

The left side of Dodwell's transcription was mistakenly assumed to be the original left margin of the inscription. Lunate sigma and epsilon occur only in line 6. Figures 16–17.

Height of letters: 0.018–0.021m. (lines 1–4)
0.022–0.025m. (lines 5–6)

[. . . .^{ca. 12}]ίαν 'Ρουφεῖναν 'Ιουλ **Σ** Μουσώνιος
[κῆρυξ τῇ] ἐξ 'Αρείου πάγου βουλῇ, στρατηγός ἐπὶ τοὺς
[όπλίτας], ἀγωνοθέτης 'Ολυμπίων, Διὸς 'Ολυμπί
4 [" ου ἱερεὺς] 'Αθήνησιν, φαίδυντῆς ἐν 'Ολυμπίᾳ "
[vacat] τῇν ἀρίστην γυναῖκα vacat
[**ΣΣ** 'Ιουλ]ίου 'Ιεροκῆρυκ[ο]ς μητέρα. **Σ Σ**

There is enough space at the beginning of line 1 to restore a title of Rufina, such as that of a priestess. For commentary see above, pp. 79–80.



FIG. 16. *I.G.*, II², 4075.

FIG. 17. *I.G.*, II², 4083.VIII. *I.G.*, II², 3531

In 1949 (*Hesperia*, Supplement 8: p. 226) Meritt expressed uncertainty whether lines 1–2 belong to the same stone as lines 4–10 and suggested that doubt might be resolved by an examination of the stone. I tried to see the stone at the Monastery of Phaneromene in the summer of 1969 but could not find it. Kirchner saw it in 1907 and stated that it was located on the outside rear wall of the church. At the base of this wall there are now heavy layers of whitewash; and if it is in that part of the wall, it has been completely covered over.

Our text of this inscription is based essentially on the text of Sir George Wheler which Spon published in *Voyage d'Italie, de Dalmatie, de Grèce et du Levant* (Lyons, 1678) 3, 2: p. 125. However, Spon did not edit lines 1–2 as part of the same inscription. This was first done by Boeckh (*C.I.G.*, 396), who remarked: "Vss. 1.2. apud Sponium ita separati sunt, ut aliquis putet duas esse inscriptiones: sed una haud dubie est, unoque articulo a Sponio comprehenditur." Spon's *articulum* is "*Là auprès*," after which follow lines 1–2 of *I.G.*, II², 3531; below this is the heading "*Fragment*," followed by lines 4–10 of *I.G.*, II², 3531. There is nothing to indicate that the "*Fragment*" is part of the same inscription; the only thing certain is that Spon wanted to indicate that both inscriptions were located roughly in the same place. Meritt brought to light the fact that Wheler, in a manuscript of his own which is now in the British Museum (Add. MS. 35, 334), also edited the two texts separately, and that Francis Vernon, who saw the stones independently of Spon and Wheler, also edited them separately (*Hesperia*, *loc. cit.*). In fact, Vernon did not edit the texts consecutively, as did Spon and Wheler; his manuscript (MS. 73 of the Royal Society)¹ has seven inscriptions in between. Thus Boeckh's conjecture

that they belonged together because of their proximity in Spon's edition becomes more dubious. Certainly the three men saw them as separate inscriptions, though probably lying close together. The main support of Boeckh's conjecture is gone, and whether it has any validity at all must be examined in the light of the further history of these inscriptions. When they were next seen and recorded, by Kirchner,² they were at the Monastery of Phaneromene on Salamis, and Kirchner printed a text of them together (*I.G.*, II², 3531). But if they were separate at Eleusis, it is scarcely likely that someone had joined them before building them into the church: Meritt reckons that these stones were taken from Eleusis and built into the church at the end of the seventeenth century (*op. cit.*, 225). Thus Kirchner's text needs to be examined carefully. He saw the stone in 1907 and wrote (*ad I.G.*, II², 3531) that he was unable to read much of it: "litterae, quarum pleraeque corrosae aut evanidae. . . ." But he did not state exactly which areas could not be read. Professor Günther Klaffenbach has kindly sent me Kirchner's squeeze of this inscription which is now in the *Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften*.³ Neither he nor I can make out any certain letters below line 3, and so one could assume that Kirchner also was unable to read lines 4–10, though the squeeze shows that space existed on the stone for those lines.

Considering the improbability of anyone joining these two inscriptions before they were built into the church, we have to assume that Spon, Wheler, and Vernon saw the same stone as Kirchner and, like him, were unable to read anything beyond line 2. They saw a whole stone (or at least one preserved to an extent of several lines below the first two lines), which is probably why Spon did not write "*Fragment*" above it, as he did for the acephalous inscription which he published after it. Boeckh's conjecture is accordingly impossible; these two texts should now be considered as separate inscriptions.

The following can be read from the squeeze:

EMMIONΣABEI
NΠEIZANΔPON
ON

This reveals that Wheler's transcript (B.M. Add. MS. 35, 334, no. 358) is garbled. He has:

ΓΑΙΟΝΜΕΜΜΙΟΝΣΑΒΕΙΝΟΝΠΕΙΣΑΝΔΡΟΝ
ΕΠΙΠΕΡΕΙΑΣΦΑΑΤΙΑΣΑΛΟΔΑΜΙΑΣ

He combined the first and second lines into one and added a separate inscription, *I.G.*, II², 4753. Vernon's

¹ I wish to thank the library of the Royal Society for sending me a photocopy of page 9 verso, which contains these inscriptions.

² Dittenberger published them as *I.G.*, III, 722, but did not see the stones.

³ I would also like to thank him for helpful criticism of the manuscript of this appendix.

copy is much more accurate:

ΓΑΙΟΝ ΜΕΜΜΙΟΝ ΣΑΒΕΙ
ΠΙΣΑΝΔΡΟΝ

Although he has mistaken Π for Ε in the second line (or omitted the Ε), it is noteworthy that the second line is reasonably accurately placed in relation to the first line, whereas Spon's second line, and consequently that of all later editors, certainly is not. The text should probably read:

Γάιον Μέμμιον Σαβεῖ
νον Πείσανδρον
[...ca. 9...] ON
[-----*-----]

For the other inscription the following text of lines 1-6 seems to fit best the disposition of both Wheeler's and Vernon's transcripts:

[-----]
[καὶ κ]ηρυκέσαντα καὶ
[γυμ]νασιάρχῃσαντα δις
[καὶ ἀγ]ωνοθετήσαντα τῶν
4 [Μεγάλ]ων Καισαρήων Σεβασ
[τῶν καὶ] στρατηγῇσαντα
[ἐπὶ τοῦ]ς ὀπλείτας δις.

This yields, according to their transcripts, an even left margin with no difficulties, and eliminates the very improbable break of syllabic division previously restored between lines 5-6. The restoration of καὶ before each participle seems necessary because of its occurrence in line 1. For lines 6-10 Wheeler⁴ (and Spon approximately) transcribed:

ΣΟΠΑΕΙΤΑΣΔΙΣ
ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΡΙΝ
Ν-ΠΙΟΔ
ΑΥΔΙΑ
ΗΣΠΑ

Vernon has:

ΣΙΟΠΑΕΙΤΑΣ ΔΙΣ
ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΡΙΝ
ΛΗΠΙΘΔΟ
ΑΥΔΙΑ
ΗΣΠΑ

⁴ B. M. Add. MS. 35, 334. Through the courtesy of the British Museum I examined this manuscript in the summer of 1969.

Vernon shows less space to the left of φιλόπατριν. But neither transcript would seem to allow space for φιλοκαίσαρα to be restored before φιλόπατριν, if the left margin remained even at this point, unless part of φιλοκαίσαρα went on the previous line. This is quite possible, but the transcript of Vernon and Wheeler and the text that I think can best be derived from them suggest that the right-hand section of the inscription was well preserved. Perhaps the most important consideration is that all other certain occurrences of this phrase⁵ at Athens contain καὶ: φιλόκαισαρ καὶ φιλόπατρις. And it seems impossible to fit both καὶ and φιλοκαίσαρα into the available space. Perhaps only φιλόπατριν or [τὸν] φιλόπατριν or [καὶ] φιλόπατριν stood in the center of this line just as τὸν φιλόπατριν was originally centered at the bottom of I.G., II², 3620 (see above, p. 84, n. 28), or perhaps we should read [καὶ τὸν] φιλόπατριν. The text of the entire inscription is then to be read as follows:

[-----]
[καὶ κ]ηρυκέσαντα καὶ
[γυμ]νασιάρχῃσαντα δις
[καὶ ἀγ]ωνοθετήσαντα τῶν
4 [Μεγάλ]ων Καισαρήων Σεβασ
[τῶν καὶ] στρατηγῇσαντα
[ἐπὶ τοῦ]ς ὀπλείτας δις
[vacat?] φιλόπατριν vacat
8 [Κλ 'Ασ]κληπιόδο[τον . .]
[. Κ]λαυδία [-----]
[τὸν ἐαυτ]ῆς πα[τέρα].

Below this Vernon seems to record a vacant space and then on the lower right: ΩΣ. The form of the end strongly suggests to me that the name preceding Κλαυδία was that of her father, the man honored in this inscription. The form of the dedication, with the names of the dedicatee and dedicator at the end, resembles I.G., II², 3613 or 3670. For the name in line 8 Meritt suggests ['Ασ]κληπιόδο[τη] or ['Ασ]κληπιόδο[ρα] as possible names of a dedicator. In this case we would have two dedicators, and something like τὸν ἐαυτῆς ἀνδρα would also have to be in the lacuna of lines 8-9, and the man's name at the beginning of the inscription; this is possible only if we regard the margins of lines 8-10 as different from those of lines 1-7.

⁵ See the list compiled by J. H. Oliver, *Expounders* p. 88. I.G., II², 3283A has [φιλό]καισαρ φιλό[πατρις], but the arrangement of the text on the stone offers no difficulty against inserting καὶ here.

ABBREVIATIONS

- A.J.A.*—*American Journal of Archaeology*.
A.J.P.—*American Journal of Philology*.
 'Αρχ. 'Εφ.—'Αρχαιολογική 'Εφημερίς, 1910- (continuing 'Εφημερίς 'Αρχαιολογική, 1883-1909).
Ath. Mitt.—*Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung*.
B.C.H.—*Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*.
B.S.A.—*Annual of the British School at Athens*.
C.I.G.—*Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*.
C.I.L.—*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*.
C.P.—*Classical Philology*.
C.Q.—*Classical Quarterly*.
C.R.—*Classical Review*.
 Δελτίον—'Αρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον.
Eleusis—George E. Mylonas, *Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries* (Princeton, 1961).
 'Εφ. 'Αρχ.—'Εφημερίς 'Αρχαιολογική (see 'Αρχ. 'Εφ.).
Expounders—James H. Oliver, *The Athenian Expounders of the Sacred and Ancestral Law* (Baltimore, 1950).
Geschichte—Martin P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion* (Munich, 1955-68).
G.R.B.S.—*Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies*.
H.S.C.P.—*Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*.
H.Th.R.—*Harvard Theological Review*.
I.G.—*Inscriptiones Graecae*.
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ADDENDUM

To p. 38: Hierophant no. 25 is also mentioned in an inscription concerning financial matters, *Hesperia* 29 (1960): pp. 29-32, no. 32. In a discussion of the inscription Oliver points out that the name Julius Secundus, which appears in the genitive case im-

mediately before that of the hierophant, may be the name of the hierophant's father or some other relative (*Les Empereurs Romains d'Espagne* [Paris, 1965]: p. 127, n. 6). It is equally possible, in my opinion, that Secundus is not related to the hierophant.

CORRIGENDUM

In the heading of Appendix V, p. 124, the reference to *Έφ. Αρχ.* 1897: col. 60, no. 42 was mistakenly assigned to the lefthand fragment when in fact it refers to the first edition of *IG*, II², 3713. The lefthand fragment seems not to have been published previously.

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